The University of Chicago
Libraries

Brotherhood in the Old Testament

By

Arthur S. Peake, *M.A., D.D.*

Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester

Author of

"The Nature of Scripture," "The Bible: Its Origin," etc.

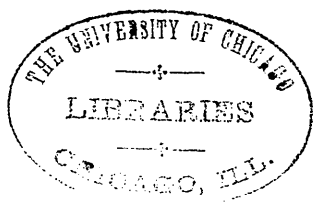
The John Clifford Lecture for 1923

Delivered in Stockport, September 17, 1923

NEW YORK

GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY

BS 670
P 35



Made and Printed in Great Britain
Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury.

1004675

TO

MY DEAR SISTER

EMILY MARGARET GRESTY

I DEDICATE

WITH GRATEFUL AFFECTION

THIS STUDY OF BROTHERHOOD

Preface

THIS volume has been written to express my sympathy with the aims of the Brotherhood Movement, and especially with the work of its Secretary, my old friend and former student, the Rev. Tom Sykes. I have tried to make the exposition serviceable to those who, while they would be repelled by too technical a treatment of the subject, desire to ascertain, alike in its greatness and its limitations, the contribution of the Old Testament to the ideals of Brotherhood in the family, society, the nation, and the human race. That it has been written from what is commonly known as the "critical" point of view goes without saying; but my primary intention has been to collect and classify the rich material, and I trust that those who prefer a more traditional attitude will find the value of the book but little impaired for their purpose.

I have to thank the Secretary of the

National Free Church Council, the Rev. T. Nightingale, for the cordial permission to use my article, "The Bible and Social Reform," originally published in the volume entitled *The Social Mission of the Church.*

ARTHUR S. PEAKE

Aug. 16, 1923.

Contents

		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTORY	9
II.	ISRAEL'S POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.	20
III.	THE FAMILY	41
IV.	SLAVERY IN ISRAEL	54
V.	FRIENDSHIP	66
VI.	THE POOR AND DEFENCELESS . . .	70
VII.	HUMANITARIANISM	86
VIII.	THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE . .	92
IX.	SINS AGAINST BROTHERHOOD . . .	106
X.	THE UNITY AND THE DISINTEGRATION OF ISRAEL	120
XI.	WAR AND PEACE	127
XII.	ISRAEL AND OTHER PEOPLES . . .	144
XIII.	THE NEW TESTAMENT	162
	INDEX	173

I

THAT the Old Testament has much to say which bears directly or indirectly on the subject of Brotherhood will be denied by no one who is familiar with it. Yet it is possible both to misunderstand and to misapply its teaching. This may be due partly to a defect in our conception of the nature and aim of Scripture, partly to a lack of caution in applying to our own conditions precepts or regulations originally intended for conditions entirely different. Before coming to closer grips with my subject I must pause for a little on these sources of error.

In the first place, then, we must start from a right idea of the nature and purpose of Scripture. The Bible is primarily the record of a Divine revelation made through history and experience and an interpretation of that revelation. It is not in the first instance the disclosure of theological mysteries which man could not discover for himself, nor yet

the enunciation of moral principles. It contains, of course, much religious and ethical teaching; but had it been its chief aim to impart such instruction, it would have been planned on wholly different lines. Revelation is not abstract but concrete, not dogmatic but historical and experimental. It comes to us through life, whether of nation, or group, or individual. That is why historical narrative fills so large a place in it and events are recorded which seem on the surface remote from all religious or moral interest. The reason for this is that the history of Israel, secular as well as sacred, was the medium through which the revelation came. Through His action in the history of the nation the Hebrews felt that they were brought into contact with their God. He was operative in it, especially in great acts of deliverance or of chastisement. Hence the history is recorded with a fullness we should not have expected in a manual of religion and ethics, just because the history and the religion were so inextricably blended.

Now it lies in the nature of the case that, if history is selected as the medium of revelation, the revelation must take the form of a process. It cannot be given all at once, but

must be slowly disclosed, through a process stretching over generations. And especially is this the case when the people chosen for the purpose is taken at the stage reached by the Hebrews when the nation was created. These slaves, redeemed from Egyptian bondage, stood on a low level of culture. They must have seemed an unpromising instrument for the loftiest of tasks when compared with Egyptians or Babylonians. It was necessary that the light should be adjusted to the weakness of their vision, that the crudity of their ideas should have ample allowance made for it. Starting from such humble beginnings, long centuries passed ere the highest achievements of the religion could be attained. In studying the Old Testament, and especially its earliest portions, we must never forget this accommodation of the revelation to the capacity of its recipients and the very gradual nature of its development. We shall accordingly be prepared for ideas and actions which fall far below the level we associate with a Divine revelation. But we shall praise the more the Divine condescension and patience, which fitted the disclosure to the slowly enlarging capacity of those to whom it was made.

But the Bible gives us more than the record of the history and of the individual experience through which the revelation was made. It supplies us also with the interpretation of it. For the true lessons of history and experience do not always by any means lie upon the surface and a special insight is needed to apprehend them. This was given by Divinely gifted seers and sages, who penetrated beneath the deceptive surface to the true significance of movements and events. So this interpretation also is recorded for us in Scripture. And though the revelation itself was independent of writing, yet its value would have been largely lost to posterity had it not been fixed in written form.

The Bible is accordingly the written record of a special Divine action in the history of a people, and in the experience of great personalities. It gave the people a knowledge of its God, not simply of truth about Him, but that knowledge which comes through actual contact with Him. For to Israel God was not remote, shrouded in impenetrable darkness, acting only through secondary causes and impersonal laws. He was a God at hand and not simply afar off. A

living, energetic, intensely personal force, whose nature could be inferred from history because history was the expression of His will. And the more fully they came to know God, the more completely they understood the conduct which such a God required. It is true that in so complex a process, where the human interacted with the Divine, the human factor often blurred the clearness or debased the purity of the Divine revelation. But when slowness of understanding and perverseness of will and other imperfections of the human medium are taken into account, what are known as the moral difficulties of the Old Testament need occasion us no perplexity or distress. Least of all need the Christian be disturbed by them, for throughout the Old Testament period religion and morality are still moving on the upward slope which finds its summit in the revelation in Christ.

The second source of possible error lies, I have said, in the incautious application to our own conditions of precepts or regulations addressed originally to a state of society very remote from our own. Much mischief has been wrought in the past by the indiscriminate transference of utterances,

elicited in the first instance by completely different social conditions, to the circumstances of our own day. Now it lies in the nature of the case that we cannot without more ado apply the message of the prophets or lawgivers in the eighth or seventh century before Christ either to our conditions in Britain or to international relationships in the twentieth century after Christ. We must start from the principle that the value of their social ideas for us consists in the underlying principles which they apply to their own conditions rather than in the applications which they actually make. And this implies an accurate acquaintance with the social and economic conditions that prophets or legislators had before them. Only if we understand the circumstances, can we grasp the principles which they applied, and which it is all-important for us to know. This lies in the very nature of revelation as I have described it. It is not given as a set of abstract principles, valid for all ages and forms of civilisation, and to be directly applied at all times and to all conditions. It is given with direct reference to the actual circumstances with which the speakers or writers had to deal, and it is often impossible

to transfer it as it stands to other ages or other climes. Yet it should not be forgotten that not only can their principles be inferred from the application they make of them, but often they are directly expressed in forms which are valid as they stand, in every period and under every sky.

II

When we consider the differences between the social and economic conditions of the Israelites and those of our modern civilisation it might well seem at the outset as if it would prove a futile task to derive from the Old Testament guidance in the solution of our national and international problems. And undeniably the gulf between ancient Israel and modern Europe and America is very wide. A comparison with Babylon or Egypt, with Assyria or Persia, with Greece or Rome, might more easily be instituted; but what lessons have we learnt which are relevant for ourselves from a country so small, a civilisation in many respects so rudimentary, and a State politically so insignificant?

Yet even the mightiest empire, the most

advanced civilisation of antiquity, was immeasurably distant from our own. The genius of inventors, the brilliant researches of scientists, have but a short time ago revolutionised the whole of life. Our civilisation is run by a vast system of machinery which draws on tremendous and till recently undiscovered sources of power. First steam, then electricity have revolutionised travel, transport and communication, increasing efficiency, speed, and volume, to a degree that would have seemed miraculous within living memory. The explorer has within the last five centuries discovered new continents and the traveller has penetrated to the heart of many regions of which nothing but the bare existence was known. Commercial relationships have developed on a correspondingly large scale: international connexions have become far wider and more intricate. New forms of government have been created. The printing press and compulsory education have made the treasures of literature and science accessible to all. Journalism becomes more and more a factor to be reckoned with in our domestic problems and our international relationships.

When we turn accordingly to life in Israel,

from the vast and complex system in which most of us play our insignificant part, we are struck by the enormous gulf which yawns between the present and that ancient past. We find ourselves in the merest rudiments of civilisation. The social and economic conditions were very simple. Natural forces were of the most obvious kind. Wind and water, beasts of burden or draught, and man-power make up the list. Of the vast potentialities stored in steam, oil, or electric current, or those forces such as inter-atomic energy which we ourselves have not as yet learnt to tap, they did not so much as dream. We have to think of a world from which some of the most prominent features of our daily life were completely absent.

There were no engines, no trains, no tram-cars, no bicycles, no motors, no steamships, no aeroplanes, no mills or factories. There was scarcely any mining, and such as there was would be of a very primitive kind. Combines, limited-liability companies, employers' federations, trade unions, directors, shareholders were entirely unknown. Trade disputes, with their lock-outs, strikes, and conciliation boards, were not on the horizon. We should have heard nothing of the eight

hours' day, the minimum wage, the right to work, the right to strike, the right to compel others to cease working. There were no old-age pensions, no poor-laws, no national insurance, no employers' liability. There were no problems of industrial revolution or reconstruction, of reparations, or the stabilisation of exchanges. There was no elaborately organised national or municipal Government. There was, it need hardly be said, no political economy. There were no newspapers and scarcely any books. And although there were classes of society, there were not the carefully and minutely graded distinctions of social status with which we are unhappily so familiar. War was probably a more normal feature of life than it is for ourselves, and it was carried on with great ruthlessness and often accompanied by horrible atrocities. But it was on a very small scale, and the part played by explosives, even in their earlier forms, had not added the most potent instrument of destruction which has in our own days attained such appalling dimensions.

Another feature in ancient society which is intolerable to all right Christian feeling was slavery. And this existed in Israel, though

the fact is disguised from the English reader by the avoidance of the term in our versions. At the same time it is possible that the incorrect translation may be less misleading to the modern reader than the literal rendering with the suggestions that the history of the institution has caused to gather about it.

But the immeasurable differences between the very simple society which we find in the Old Testament and the vast, complex, and highly organised system of our own time must not lead us to depreciate the significance of Israel's sacred literature for our own problems. Had the prophets and psalmists, the sages and the lawgivers, limited themselves to a statement of their economic principles, their utterances in this field would have had but slender value for ourselves. Even their handling of the actual social and economic conditions would naturally leave much to be done before their words could be made available for the solution of our problems. But there is much which can be used just as it stands, because it is the expression of these eternal principles of righteousness which in all generations remain immutably the same.

II *Israel's Political and Social Development*

SINCE ideals of brotherhood find their concrete expression in the life of the community and in its external relations, it is necessary for our purpose to give a rapid sketch of the political and social development of the people of Israel. According to our records, the ancestors of the Hebrews came to Palestine from the East. They belonged to the great family of nations known as the Semites; and it must never be forgotten that the Israelites were comparatively a young people, the birth of the nation falling at a period when great empires had behind them a history of thousands of years. They were in contact with advanced civilisations, though it is easily possible to overrate the extent to which they were influenced by them. The nation was created at Sinai under the leadership of Moses by a combination of kindred tribes. Some at least, if not all of these tribes had been in Egypt, where they had been compelled by the Pharaoh to labour in

his brickfields and in the erection of cities, The memory of that harsh servitude was never lost. It supplied the motive for the humanitarian treatment of slaves and, in particular, for the observance of the Sabbath rest. It gave Moses, their deliverer, a claim, which has never been forgotten, to the gratitude of his people and assured him for all time of a lonely eminence in their veneration. Above all it bound them to Yahweh, the mighty God who had looked with compassion on their bitter wrongs, had rescued them from bondage and graciously made a covenant with them that they should be His people and that He should be their God. Thus the very being of the nation rested on a religious conviction; the elements which composed it were fused into a unity by the proud confession: Yahweh is the God of Israel and Israel is the people of Yahweh.

The process by which the Hebrews made good their footing in Palestine is only very imperfectly known to us. The traditional view, based on the dominant representation in the Book of Joshua, has been that the older inhabitants were ruthlessly exterminated and that the land was apportioned to the different tribes and entirely occupied by

them. It is clear, however, from the earlier narratives preserved in the Book of Judges, and in the older sections of the Book of Joshua itself, that the Hebrews made good their footing only very gradually, and that for a long time the Canaanites held their own, especially in important cities and the fertile plains. The country became Israelite rather by the absorption than the elimination of the Canaanites. At first, when the Hebrews penetrated into Western Palestine, they seemed to have lost their national unity, and to have fallen into three distinct groups, separated by belts of Canaanite territory. Gradually, however, through war and intermarriage the peoples mingled, and this had momentous consequences.

Although commerce was probably for the most part in the hands of the Canaanites, the Hebrews began to abandon the nomad life, and to practise agriculture. Naturally, in the more sterile South, where Judah was settled, the pastoral life held its own, ; as was largely the case also with the Hebrews who remained on the east of Jordan. But in the more fertile districts agriculture came to be adopted on an ever-increasing scale. And thus the social conditions and religious

practices were radically transformed. The tiller of the soil is tied down to a particular locality, far more than the keeper of flocks and herds. Nomads may, it is true, cultivate corn, but the culture of the vine and the olive demands a settled abode. And agriculture is an art which must be acquired. The Israelites learnt it from the Canaanites, whose civilisation was far superior to their own.

This involved grave results for the religion of Israel. In its origin that religion was a religion of the desert. When the God of Israel chose His people they were nomads. The covenant by which He took them for His people, and they accepted Him as their God, was made in the wilderness. The settlement in Canaan exposed the religion to one of the most trying tests through which it was ever to pass—the transition, one of the greatest that can occur in the history of a people, from the pastoral to the agricultural stage. For us the art of agriculture is purely secular; but in antiquity religion filled the whole of life to a degree that we can only dimly imagine. And this was especially the case in the tilling of the soil. Not only was it necessary to prepare the ground and sow

the seed, but there were certain religious rites which were indispensable if the fertility of the land was to be secured. Hence the Hebrews naturally learnt not only the rules of agriculture as we understand them, but also those religious ceremonies which were considered essential to the farmer's success. For this depended, in the belief of the Canaanites, not simply on his own efforts, but on the blessing of the local divinities, the Baalim, on his work.

Hence when the Hebrews were instructed in the new art a serious religious danger was created. Either the Hebrews would be initiated into the worship of the Baalim, or they might degrade their own God to the level of a Canaanite Baal. Both of these possibilities seem to have been realised. Probably the Hebrews did not feel that the worship of these local givers of fertility was inconsistent with the loyalty they owed to their national God; though in later periods the prophets denounced it as apostasy. But it is well known to the student of religion that the cult of the powers of fertility leads constantly to repulsive moral excesses, and the religion of the Canaanites is known to have been stained with revolting foulness.

And if at a later period the worship appropriate to the Baalim was transferred to Yahweh, this element of foulness was carried into the service of the national God. It was not, therefore, simply a religious but a moral danger that was threatened by the development in culture which followed the settlement in Canaan.

Some zealous worshippers of Yahweh took the view that the agricultural life did involve unfaithfulness to the God of Israel. Accordingly we find that the Rechabites renounced it altogether. They are best known to us by their refusal to drink wine; but this was only part of a much larger renunciation. Their ancestor Jonadab, who heartily supported the atrocities by which Jehu uprooted the worship of the Tyrian Baal, had forbidden them to build houses, sow seed, plant vineyards, or have any of these things, and commanded them to dwell in tents. It is clear that they were to remain nomads, rejecting the agricultural life, and rejecting it on religious grounds.

Now the danger against which they protested was real; but the renunciation of civilisation with all its blessings was a desperate remedy. It was one of the great

services which the prophets rendered to humanity when they asserted that the religion of Israel was not incompatible with civilisation. Hosea agreed with the Rechabites that the practice of agriculture had involved unfaithfulness to Yahweh. He represents Israel as going after her lovers—that is, the Baalim, to whom she attributed the gifts of the corn, the wine, and the oil—and he can see no cure for the evils except by a return to the desert, which should interrupt her pursuit of the agricultural life and thus break off her connexion with the Baalim. There in the nomad life she would return to her own God, and the old happy relations would be resumed. Then she would be restored to Palestine and learn that it was not the Baalim but Yahweh who blessed the labour of her hands and gave fertility to her soil. Thus Hosea brought civilisation, with all its blessings, into harmony with the loftiest religion, and averted the peril that might easily have arisen if the religion had been stereotyped at a low cultural level. No religion can be permanent unless it is sufficiently flexible to adjust itself to very different social conditions, and the service rendered by Hosea in this respect

was of eminent value. And such a flexibility, I may add, is possessed in an even higher degree by Christianity.

The very existence of the nation was threatened again and again, and most seriously by the Philistines. A remedy was sought in the creation of the monarchy. National unity was secured, and in the reign of David the Philistine menace was finally removed. He created an extensive empire by successful wars; Solomon consolidated what his father had won. He fostered commercial enterprise and trade by sea; but it was directed too much towards luxury and ostentation, and too little to the production of real wealth. He also did much to break down the old tribal organisation. His domestic Government was both extravagant and tyrannical; and although he succeeded in curbing the discontent of his subjects, the folly of Rehoboam reaped the harvest which his father had sown. Signs had not been wanting that Judah and the Northern tribes were bound together by slender ties. But the unity of the kingdom was for ever shattered by Rehoboam's declaration that he would aggravate, rather than alleviate, the grievances from which the people were suffer-

ing. The centre of gravity moved steadily towards the North, which far surpassed the Southern Kingdom in population, in natural resources, and in advantages of position. Had the kingdom remained united, it might under wise government have maintained for a long time the place which David had given to it in international relationships. But this is dubious, and in any case the rise of Damascus to power involved the Northern Kingdom in generations of ruthless warfare with Syria, which came near to ending its existence. Only the exhaustion of Syria by its conflict with the great empire of Assyria gave Israel the opportunity, in the period of Assyria's quiescence which followed, to reach through the victories of Joash and of Jeroboam II a position of unexampled prosperity.

It was in the reign of Jeroboam II that Amos opened the series of our canonical prophets with his message of speedy judgment for Israel's sins of oppression, injustice, cruelty, and luxury. It is necessary accordingly at this point to speak of the great prophets and their relation to the social, economic, and political problems of their time. The conditions which confronted them

must first be briefly described. During the long conflict with Syria, from the time of Omri onwards, the strength of Israel had been exhausted. The long wars had largely exterminated the peasant proprietors who constituted the backbone of the country or ruined those who had survived. The rich had taken advantage of their economic necessities to get possession of their land; and if the former owners did not become serfs, they were driven to swell the indigent masses in the towns. In the reign of Joash, and still more that of Jeroboam II, there had been a great expansion of wealth. But this had enriched the upper classes rather than the poor. The poor were bought out by capitalists, or evicted from their holdings by high-handed injustice. The rich added house to house and field to field, crowding the poor into the towns from the sparsely populated country districts, where there was no room for them to live. The large estates were worked by cheap labour, often by slave labour. The poor accordingly suffered under grinding oppression. Taxation, as so often happens in the East, was so adjusted that they had to bear the heaviest burden. Falling behind, they had to borrow at ruinous

interest, and soon what little they possessed, and even their families and their own persons, became the property of the oppressors. What made matters worse was that the money thus wrung from the needy was spent in luxurious living. So the destitute were still further impoverished, while the country itself grew poorer through unproductive expenditure. Social and economic distinctions were much more sharply accentuated than in earlier times, when there were no great extremes of wealth and poverty, when life was simple, and the relations between the classes of society were friendly. The administration of justice was scandalous; the poor, however righteous their cause, were defenceless against the false witness which could be purchased or the bribes which secured the verdict against them. And the social abuses which festered in the life of the Northern Kingdom were characteristic of Judah also, though on a smaller scale.

It must not be supposed that the main interest of the prophets lay anywhere except in religion and morality. But in antiquity the individual was of comparatively little importance, and religion and morality alike were naturally matters mainly of national

and social concern. It was this that led the prophets to devote such large attention to social questions. It was not that they were politicians, or social reformers, or economists by deliberate choice; but that their religious and ethical interests forced them to handle these subjects. Their denunciation of the oppression of the poor by the rich, of the disgraceful miscarriage of justice, of the barefaced robbery of the weak by the strong, was inspired directly by deep moral and religious feeling. But when Isaiah, for example, attacked the foreign policy of Ahaz, and at a later time the alliance with Egypt, or when he spoke on the land question in Judah, his utterances were not inspired by a wish to give instruction on politics or economics, but by the fact that these things had an immediate bearing on the religion and morality of the people. It is necessary to bear this firmly in mind in estimating such a verdict as Renan's, that the prophets were socialistic demagogues, "radical and revolutionary journalists, declaiming their articles in the streets." Israel had its sophists and its demagogues; but whatever the prophets were, they were not demagogues. We can discover in them no trace of a tendency to

flatter the mob, or to win popularity by pandering to its prejudices. Again and again we find them risking their lives because they must utter their message and attack the cherished convictions of the people. The charge is equally unfounded that they were agitators against the Government. They often opposed the Government's policy, but this was due to no hatred of the ruling power, but to the conviction that its policy was wicked or disastrous. Often they were the trusted advisers of the Government. In their descriptions of the happy future the Davidic monarchy is a constant element. They were not concerned for the abolition of rulers, a state of things they would have regarded with dismay, but that their rule should be righteous.

When we are confronted with the question, Were the prophets socialists? we cannot help retorting that the question betrays a radical misapprehension of the whole situation. Moreover, the necessity of remembering that it is in the principles they express, rather than in the application which they gave to them, that we must look for their permanent contribution to truth, is specially urgent when we are dealing with their

economics. However strongly we may feel on one side or the other on the issue before us to-day, we may discuss the attitude of the prophets quite dispassionately, since it can have no binding force for us. There are grave antecedent improbabilities in an affirmative answer. Socialism arises in a complex state of society, and a highly developed civilisation, such as the Hebrews had not attained. It implies a view of society alien to the Semitic temper, which looks at the existence of social distinctions and inequality of wealth as the ordinance of God. Hebrew legislation is based on the existence of private property; and the proposition that it is an evil or a wrong would have been quite unintelligible to an Israelite. Constantly prosperity is held out as a reward of righteousness. Such a sentence as "Length of days is in her right hand, in her left hand riches and honour," expresses quite faithfully the Old Testament attitude to wealth. If the prayer is made, "Give me neither poverty nor riches," that is not because wealth is wrong in itself, or an injustice to the poor, but because it may lead to irreligion. The prophets do not attack social or economic distinctions.

That there are grades in the social order, that there are rich and poor, and those who have the blessing of the happy medium between wealth and poverty, causes them no disquiet, and draws from them no denunciation. They are concerned with right and wrong, with justice and injustice, with mercy and inhumanity. But these moral qualities are especially affected by social and economic distinctions, by the powers given on the one hand, and the limitations imposed on the other. What, then, is the basis for the not uncommon view that the prophets were socialists? It lies in the simple fact that their writings contain much denunciation of the rich. We cannot, however, detach these burning utterances from the actual historical conditions which provoked them; and when these have been clearly realised we see that the protest of the prophets against the conduct of the rich was in the interests of no socialist theory, but was directed against the violation of the fundamental laws of humanity, justice, and sound economics.

The driving forces in prophecy were moral and religious, not political or economic. The way in which the prophets treated the

conditions of their own time constitutes no law for us in our very different conditions. But their passionate humanitarianism, their hatred of cruelty, oppression, and injustice, their desire that the common blessings of life should be free and accessible to all, these are permanent possessions of our race, and confer on their words a perennial value and an eternal validity.

The judgment announced by the prophets on the Northern Kingdom was executed by Assyria. In the brief interval of little more than twenty years between the death of Jeroboam II and the Fall of Samaria in 722 six kings were on the throne, and four of these were murdered. Judah was spared the fate of her sister, and thus the higher religion of the prophets had time to achieve decisive results.

The destruction of the State, when Samaria fell, meant that the people who were carried into captivity lost their racial and religious identity, and were speedily merged in the heathen population of the land to which they were carried captive. But Judah escaped a similar fate, which threatened it twenty years later, when in 701 Sennacherib had Jerusalem all but in his grasp,

and to all human appearance it seemed as if the Southern Kingdom would share the downfall which had overtaken the Northern. But the Assyrians were foiled and Judah, sorely depleted indeed of inhabitants and of treasure and groaning under heavy tribute, yet was spared for more than a century longer and thus preserved its racial consciousness and its religion when it was torn from the soil and banished to Babylon. The work of Amos and Hosea in Israel had its effect in Judah; and there a great succession of prophets had worked, notably Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah. There the Deuteronomic Law Book had been promulgated and the Reformation of Josiah had been accomplished. So when the Exile came, although no doubt many Jews abandoned their national religion, since their God had seemed too weak or too indifferent to save His people from their calamities, yet many remained faithful, recognising in their sufferings a just chastisement for their sin.

In Babylonia the religion detached from the local associations with which it had been inseparably connected underwent a new transformation. Babylonia was an unclean land where no sacrifice could be offered to

Yahweh, where no sacred feast could be observed. The religion was therefore driven to discover or emphasise other forms of expression. It was possible to sing the Lord's songs in a strange land, if no triumphant conqueror demanded it for his entertainment. It was possible to meet for prayer and the reading of sacred books. Records of the past could be written, the oracles of the prophets could be collected, laws could be codified. The distinctive marks of Judaism, such as circumcision, the Sabbath, the laws of clean and unclean, could be carefully maintained. Sacred seasons might be more fully used. All traces of heathenism must be relentlessly extirpated. In the execution of this programme Ezekiel was the foremost leader, and although it is difficult for us to sympathise with not a few elements in his teaching, it is only bare justice to say that for the preservation of the religion his work was invaluable. The tidings of the victory won by Cyrus over Croesus, king of Lydia, confirmed the predictions of Babylon's downfall and deliverance for the exiles, and led the second Isaiah (Isa. xl.–lv.) to paint in glowing colours the glorious redemption which Yah-

weh was about to achieve for His people through the Persian king.

But when Babylon had fallen and Cyrus permitted the Jews to return to Jerusalem, comparatively few availed themselves of the opportunity. Their enthusiasm was chilled by the disenchanting realities which met them in Palestine. Foes without and straitened circumstances within provided what seemed adequate excuses for postponing the rebuilding of the Temple. And it was only under the stimulus of the reproaches and the promises addressed to them by Haggai and Zechariah that they took in hand and completed the task. The period which lay between these prophets and the time of Ezra and Nehemiah is largely a blank to us; but it is clear, alike from the memoirs of these leaders, from the Book of Malachi and the closing chapters of Isaiah (lvi.–lxvi.), which apparently belong for the most part to this period, that the old social abuses had reappeared. A more rigorous temper was manifested by Ezra in the horror he exhibited at the marriages of Jews with foreign women. A little later he succeeded in carrying through a religious and ecclesiastical reformation, based either on the Priestly Code or on the

completed Law. So Judaism was born, and the Law, as interpreted and expanded by the scribes, regulated the life and conduct of the Jews, not in Palestine alone, but in the Dispersion. Little is known of the century which followed the Reformation; but matters went badly with the Jews in the later years of the Persian Empire which was at last overthrown by Alexander the Great. Of their fortunes under the rival dynasties, which ruled in Syria and Egypt after Alexander's death, there is no need to speak. But the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes, the king of Syria, to enforce religious uniformity throughout his dominions brought him into conflict with the Jews. He tried by a drastic persecution to suppress the Jewish religion, which indeed, but for his interference, seemed as though it might under the solvent of Greek culture have disappeared spontaneously. The persecution was met at first by brave endurance and then by heroic resistance under the leadership of the Maccabees, which finally secured for them the right to practise the worship enjoined in the Law. The struggle is reflected in the Book of Daniel and some of the later Psalms.

This brings us to the limit of Old Testa-

ment history. It only remains to add a few words on the internal developments of this period. The completion of the Law helped to give the death-blow to prophecy, which had for some time previously been moving in the direction of apocalyptic. The calamities which had overtaken the nation and the sufferings of righteous individuals had greatly accentuated the problem of suffering which, even before the destruction of Jerusalem, had forced itself on the attention of Jeremiah. It found expression and discussion in Habakkuk, in the sections of Isa. xl.–lv. which deal with the Servant of Yahweh, in the Book of Job, in Ecclesiastes, in some of the Psalms. Some of these have as their background the tyranny of foreign oppressors or grave social wrongs within the community itself. The Psalter abounds in the complaints of the wronged and their imprecations on their tormentors. The Book of Proverbs, which in its present form dates from this period, provides us with a less troubled picture of everyday life; while Ecclesiastes is the offspring of deep pity and unrelieved despair.

III *The Family*

It is natural in a work on *Brotherhood in the Old Testament* to begin with a reference to brotherhood in its literal sense. And the impression left upon us is far from pleasant. One of the earliest records is the story of Cain and Abel—the elder brother, in resentment at the Divine preference for the offering of the younger, murdering the favourite of heaven (Gen. iv. 1–15). It is to this story that we owe the shameless question "Am I my brother's keeper?" which has so often found its illustration in men's cynical indifference to the wrongs and sufferings of their fellows. Jewish legend, familiar to us in the Pauline allegory of Sarah and Hagar (Gal. iv. 22–31), represented the son of the slave woman as persecuting the son of the free woman. The Hebrew narrative, however, means no more than that the two children were playing together on equal terms. But it was just this innocent assumption of equality which roused the free

woman, jealous for Isaac's legal rights to his father's estate, to demand the prompt and ruthless expulsion of Ishmael and his mother (Gen. xxi. 8–21).

The sons of Isaac and Rebecca, though twin brothers, are singularly unlike in character and disposition. The cool and crafty Jacob extorts from his ravenously hungry brother the birthright he had so long coveted (xxv. 27–34); and the name of Esau has come down to us as the typically irreligious man, the "profane person," who lives only in the material and visible order, with no spiritual insight, no vision of the unseen (Heb. xii. 16 f.). Then, instigated by his mother, Jacob defrauds his brother of the blind father's blessing, and has to flee into exile from the threatened vengeance of Esau (Gen. xxvii). Laban, his mother's brother, substitutes the dull-eyed Leah for the fascinating Rachel, whom Jacob had won for his bride by seven years' service and for whom after his marriage to the two sisters he has to serve a second term of years (Gen. xxix. 15–30). In this the scheming liar is repaid in his own coin for the deceit and disloyalty he has shown to his father and his brother. But Laban thus invites the

retaliation by which Jacob secures the stronger flock (xxx. 31–43). And though the two wives are united in their loyalty to Jacob and their resentment at their father's meanness towards themselves (xxxi. 14–16), they become bitter rivals in their desire for children. In Jacob's own family we read how the unwise favouritism of the father for Joseph and Joseph's own priggishness and the imprudent disclosure of the dreams, which pointed to his future pre-eminence (xxxvii. 2–11), exasperated his brothers and led them first to determine on his death (18–20), and then to leave him in a pit (21–24) or, according to another document, to sell him to slave dealers (27 f.).

Even in the story of Moses we read that Aaron and Miriam resented the unique position of Moses, claiming that Yahweh had spoken with them as well as with him (Num. xii. 1 f.). Abimelech, the semi-legitimate son of Gideon, murders his seventy half-brothers, with the exception of Jotham, in order to secure his position as king of Shechem (Judges ix. 1–5). Jephthah, the illegitimate son of Gilead, is expelled by his half-brothers that he may not share in the father's inheritance (xi. 1 f.). Eliab, Jesse's

eldest son, chides David for leaving his sheep in the wilderness and coming down to see the battle with the Philistines (1 Sam. xvii. 28). In the story of the hideous scandals in David's family we read of Amnon's violation of his half-sister Tamar, and the vengeance taken for her by her brother Absalom (2 Sam. xiii.). And in the intrigues for the succession to David it was recognised by Bathsheba that if Adonijah came to the throne, she and Solomon her son would probably forfeit their lives (1 Kings i. 21). And when Solomon ascends the throne, while Adonijah is spared for the time being (50–53), Solomon takes occasion later on to have his rival removed (ii. 22–25).

Yet it ought to be recognised that there are brighter elements in some of these stories. The filial reverence and modesty of Shem and Japhet stand in pleasing contrast to their brother's shameless mockery of his father (Gen. ix. 20–27). Abraham treats his kinsman Lot with singular generosity (xiii. 6–12). Esau shows himself magnanimous when he meets the brother who had so deeply injured him (xxxiii. 1–15). Even Jacob and Laban part in peace (xxxi. 43–

55). According to one story (E) Reuben suggests leaving Joseph to die in a pit, purposing to rescue him and restore him to his father, a design thwarted by the discovery of Joseph by the Midianites, who kidnap him and take him to Egypt, where they sell him to Potiphar. According to another document (J) Judah persuades his brothers not to incur the guilt of fratricide, but to sell him as a slave to the Ishmaelites. The affection of the brothers for Benjamin is brought out in the story of Joseph's cup, above all in the noble speech of Judah pleading with persuasive eloquence for the release of Benjamin and the offer to suffer as his substitute. And Joseph himself freely forgives the black treachery of his brothers and seeks to mitigate their remorse by tracing in his own misfortunes the overruling providence of God by which their lives were preserved in the famine (xlv. 1–15). Miriam watched over Moses when, as an infant, he was entrusted to the Nile, and by her ready wit restored the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter to his own mother as his nurse (Exod. ii. 3–10). She celebrates the triumph of the Red Sea with timbrel and song and a choral dance (xv. 20 f.); and Aaron

was the constant associate of Moses in his work.

In the wider sense of the term "brotherhood" all family relations are included, and therefore that between husband and wife and parents and children. The position accorded to woman was of course not such as she occupies among ourselves to-day. But it was relatively high. A woman was able to take some part in public life. Miriam, Deborah, Huldah are instances of this. So is the wise woman in Abel who dissuaded Joab from destroying the city by the promise that Sheba's head should be thrown to him over the wall (2 Sam. xx. 15–22). Neither Jezebel nor Athaliah illustrates the position of women in Israel; for Jezebel was a foreign princess and Athaliah was her daughter, who by assassination of the royal family secured the throne of Judah. And Esther serves her people only through the accident of her relationship to the Persian king.

Normally, it would seem, a woman was under the control of the head of the household, her father, her husband, or her brother, and her sphere would be the home. She would naturally look forward to marriage

as her vocation. If her marriage was blest with children, especially boys, she secured a much higher position than if she was childless. If she survived her husband and her son became head of the family, she was placed at once in a position of the highest dignity and influence. For the tie between mother and child was peculiarly close. And this was specially the case in the polygamous household, for, while the head of the household might be husband to several women, he was a son only to one. Moreover, polygamy resulted in the breaking up of the household into two or more groups in their separate apartments. To these the mother meant far more than the father, since his attentions were distributed over several groups of mother and children, whereas the children had the monopoly of their mother. Thus a king's mother held a position of greater influence and dignity than any of his wives.

The evils of polygamy come out clearly in the Old Testament narrative. Isaac was apparently a monogamist; and Jacob was not a bigamist by choice. Abraham was not strictly a polygamist, since a wife who was herself childless might make good the defect

by the substitution of her female slave. But Sarah's attitude to Ishmael supplies a rather lurid illustration of the rivalry for the inheritance which would exist between children of the same father by different mothers. It is in fact clear that the relationship between the wives was likely to be one of jealousy, bitterness, and even hatred. The technical term for one wife in relation to another was "adversary." The relationship between Leah and Rachel, or between Hannah and Peninnah, was no doubt repeated in numerous households of this type. But the most terrible example of the evils that followed from such unions is to be seen in the household of David.

A man was allowed considerable freedom in divorce; but a woman had no such power. It is not probable that divorce was frequent; though in the movement for reform under Ezra and Nehemiah foreign wives were divorced. The evil seems to have been prevalent in the time of Malachi. But there were natural checks upon the practice in the fact that the husband had to reckon with the resentment of the wife's relatives, and where the bride had brought a dowry it had to be

returned. Deuteronomy seeks to restrict the freedom of divorce, but in later times the ambiguous expression which the writer uses was frequently interpreted with great laxity.

The fact that a woman was regarded as the property of her father, who had the right to select her husband for her; and the further fact that on marriage she became the property of her husband, and passed to his heir with the rest of his property, must not lead us to infer that the wife was actually treated as a mere chattel. That the affection between husband and wife was often deep is suggested by various features of the history. The romantic affection of Jacob for Rachel, who served seven years to win her, is exquisitely characterised in the famous words "and they seemed to him but a few days for the love that he had to her" (Gen. xxix. 20); and the wedding songs, of which the Song of Songs seems to consist, are clear evidence of a similar passionate affection. And there was undeniably much affection in the relationship, as is illustrated in the case of Elkanah and Hannah (1 Sam. i. 5–8). The aphorisms in the Book of Proverbs and especially the praise of the virtuous house-

wife (xxxi. 10–31) show the high regard in which women were held if they performed their duties with competence and diligence. We may take it on the whole that marriage among the Hebrews was normally happy, especially when the harmony of the home was not marred by discord between the wives; and that there was real comradeship between husband and wife.

A few sentences must suffice on the relation between parents and children. The father had very large powers over his children, though not to the extent which a Roman father possessed. But it is noteworthy that the mother stands beside the father in the claim for honour and obedience. This is so in the fifth commandment, and its precept is frequently enforced elsewhere. The earliest law inflicts death for striking (Exod. xxi. 15) or cursing parents (17), and the latter regulation recurs in Lev. xx. 9. Deuteronomy pronounces a curse on setting light by father or mother (xxvii. 16). It deals with the case of an intractably rebellious son who, on the complaint of his parents, is to be stoned to death (xxi. 18–21). It also insists, in the case of a polygamous marriage, that the firstborn, if he is the son of the less

favoured wife, is to have the full rights of inheritance (xxi. 15–17). Proverbs emphasises obedience and respect to parents (xxiii. 22), predicting a gruesome penalty for the eye that mocks at father or sets light by mother (xxxi. 17), and says of whoever curses his parents that his lamp shall be put out in the deepest darkness (xx. 20). On the other hand we have the gladness of parents when their children are upright (xv. 20, xxiii. 24 f.).

Favouritism leads to melancholy results. In the case of Jacob and Esau the contrast and antipathy were all the more striking that they were children of the same mother and twins. Unhappily Isaac and Rebecca each had a favourite, and to secure the much-prized paternal blessing for Jacob his mother instructed him to win it from his blind and aged father by deceit and falsehood. Jacob himself betrayed an unwise partiality for Joseph which, with his dreams and tale-bearing, aroused the murderous hatred of his brothers.

Unfilial conduct is illustrated by the case of Ham, of Jacob in the treatment of his father, of his sons in their deceit about the fate of Joseph, of Reuben, and above all Absalom

in his treatment of David. And the last case illustrates the evil consequence of parental laxity, as we see also in the case of the sons of Eli. Apparently David inflicted no punishment on Amnon for his outrage on Tamar, though he was greatly angered by it, and thus was directly to blame for Absalom's murder of his brother in vindication of his sister's honour. Then his foolish treatment of Absalom led to a rebellion of the most formidable character; while his ill-timed display of excessive grief at Absalom's death might have had further disastrous consequences, but for the blunt remonstrance of Joab. And it is typical of David's weak indulgence that the historian should say of Adonijah "his father had not displeased him at any time in saying, Why hast thou done so?" (1 Kings i. 6). In Proverbs abundance of wise instruction is given by father to son and the writers believe in stern discipline.

In the main we may think of the home life of the Hebrews as happy and harmonious. A genuine affection between husband and wife, deep love of the parents for their children, love and honour to parents on the part of the children, and all in the fear of

God—these were the qualities which seem to have made the Hebrew home strong and virtuous.

IV *Slavery in Israel*

MANY Bible readers will learn with a sense of shock that slavery was an institution permitted to the Israelites by the Law, and that no question was raised on the score of its morality. The translation "servant" or even "bond-servant" suggests to the English reader something quite different from slave. Yet "slave" is the correct rendering. In some cases a boy or girl might be born into slavery; in other cases children were sold into slavery by their parents. Sometimes the economic condition was so desperate that a man was forced to sell himself into slavery. In other instances the ranks of the slaves were recruited by prisoners of war or by raids made into foreign territory. The slave, in whatever way he had become such, was the property of the master, who had the complete disposal of his time, his strength, and his labour, apart from any limitations imposed by the claims of God. The master was entitled to inflict corporal punishment

upon him, and this might be extremely severe.

To us the institution of slavery appears one of the vilest and most indefensible violations of the principle of brotherhood. No Christian can have any part or lot in the owning of slaves or in the slave trade, without a deep disloyalty to the fundamental principles of his religion. Earlier ages, it is true, often failed to realise this, and allowance must be made for their inability to appreciate the implications of the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. And this must be fully recognised when we are tempted to condemn the Hebrews for tolerating the system; and all the more that Hebrew law is notable for the protection it afforded slaves against the abuses of slavery and the ameliorations it introduced in the conditions of servitude.

In the Book of the Covenant we have the case of the Hebrew slave dealt with (Exod. xxi. 2–6). He is to serve for six years, then to be liberated without payment of a price. If he was married when he became a slave, his wife would share his freedom as she had shared his servitude. If he married a slave of his master's, she would remain in

servitude, together with any children of the marriage. If, however, when the six years had expired he preferred to remain with his master, and not surrender his wife and children, then his master brought him to the household deities at the threshold, and bored his ear with an awl, and thus his servitude became perpetual. The regulation illustrates the mildness of the Hebrew law. Slavery in the case of an Israelite is not a permanent condition. The slave can claim freedom at the end of six years. And the fact that provision is made for the slave's refusal to avail himself of the opportunity, shows that the slave's lot might in some cases appear desirable. No doubt the love of his wife and children exercised a powerful influence; but the love of his master is also assigned as a motive. And in many instances the slave would unquestionably feel himself economically more secure as a slave in his master's household than if he left the shelter and provision it afforded him for the grim struggle to maintain himself in freedom.

In Deuteronomy (xv. 12–18) the regulations are on the same general lines; but in harmony with the more humanitarian temper of the legislation, liberal treatment is en-

joined. He is to receive a gift from the flock, the threshing-floor, and the winepress. And while the Book of the Covenant legislates simply for men, Deuteronomy includes women slaves. Here, as elsewhere, it reminds the Hebrews that they themselves had been slaves in Egypt and their God had redeemed them from bondage. The Law of Holiness enjoins that Hebrew slaves are to receive the same treatment as hired servants. They are not to be treated with rigour, and in the year of jubilee they are to go free and return to their ancestral possession (Lev. xxv. 39–43). If a Hebrew sells himself to a Gentile, he may redeem himself or be redeemed by a relative. But if he is not redeemed, he and his children are to secure their freedom in the year of jubilee (47–54). On the other hand, a Gentile slave can be held in perpetuity, and no protection is accorded against rigorous treatment (44–46).

In the Book of the Covenant the case of the slave's death from chastisement at the master's hand is provided for. If the slave, man or woman, died from the chastisement, a penalty, not further defined, was exacted. If, however, the victim of this ferocious beating survived for a day or two, then the

master was unpunished because the loss of his property was regarded as an adequate penalty (Exod. xxi. 20 f.). If the owner struck the eye or tooth of a slave so that he lost it, the victim was compensated by liberation from servitude (26 f.).

While Deuteronomy requires that the female slave shall be set free at the end of six years, the Book of the Covenant prohibits this. It is presupposed that she will become the master's concubine. If he does not make her so, then he must permit her to be redeemed, and he is prohibited from selling her to a foreigner. In other ways her interests are protected (7–11).

Deuteronomy lays stress on the humanitarian purpose of the Sabbath rest, and specially mentions the relief thus given to slaves, recalling the bondage endured by Israel in Egypt (v. 14 f.). Perhaps the most remarkable provision is that a slave is not to be delivered to the master from whom he has escaped, but is to dwell where he will, and not to be oppressed (xxiii. 15 f.). The kidnapping of Israelites that they may be sold into slavery is treated as a capital crime (xxiv. 7).

It must of course be recognised that

legislation presents a higher standard than the normal practice. It is probable that the condition of the slaves was better in the earlier and simpler days than in the later period when the gulf between classes had become much wider. In the days of small holdings or in parts of the country where sheep-rearing was the chief industry, the lot of the slave would be comparatively mild. He would be a member of the household, in constant companionship with the other members. There was no colour bar, no racial inferiority. The fortune of war, a drought which deprived the sheep and cattle of pasture or ruined the harvest, a plague which carried off the stock, a debt contracted at heavy rates of interest, these and other causes might easily lead a man to sell his children into slavery or to meet his obligations by sacrificing his own freedom. Or the bread-winner might die, and the widow and children be reduced to servitude. Obviously in such cases it would be natural to treat the slaves as those who had been the social equals of their masters, and might be so again. No doubt slaves belonging to another race, especially a race with which the Hebrews were at war, would be less

favourably treated. But the charming story of the Hebrew girl who was the slave of Naaman's wife (2 Kings v. 2–4) illustrates the friendliness which would often exist between Hebrew owners and foreign slaves.

In the later period, when the long and disastrous wars with Syria had largely eliminated the peasant proprietors and the land was concentrated in comparatively few hands, the state of the slaves was presumably much worse. The large estates would be cultivated mainly by gangs of slaves in whom the owners would feel but little interest.

How indifferent to the most sacred obligations these magnates might be, is clear from the narrative in Jer. xxxiv. 8–22. The Hebrew slaves were liberated during the siege of Jerusalem by a solemn covenant, made before God and placed under His protection. Then, when the siege was raised, with the short-sighted optimism so characteristic of the people, they felt that the danger was past and with profane cynicism forced their former slaves back into servitude. It is clear that legal enactments would weigh but little with these perjured oppressors, who flouted God Himself to His

face. But even the Law implies that the slave was very much at the master's mercy. Chastisement, as we have seen, might with impunity be extremely severe. The owner is unpunished if the slave does not die under the rod. And if he lingers a day or two no penalty is inflicted. If he loses an eye or a tooth from the master's violence the slave must be liberated; but violence may go a long way and yet stop short of knocking out the victim's eye.

Yet the tendency of Hebrew legislation was to protect the slave and ameliorate his lot. This was especially the case with Hebrew slaves. Here the sense of brotherhood resting on a common race and a common religion counted for much. The story of Nehemiah's noble protest against the enslavement of Hebrew debtors points to the rise of a feeling that no Jew should hold his fellow-Jew in slavery (Neh. v. 1–13). And while the later legislation does not prohibit the purchase of Hebrew slaves, it insists that they are to be treated not as slaves, but as hired servants (Lev. xxv. 39–43).

It is when we compare Hebrew practice and legislation with that which has obtained

among other peoples, that we realise how the Hebrews shine in comparison. Westermarck says: "From a moral point of view negro slavery is interesting, chiefly because it existed in the midst of a highly developed Christian civilisation, and nevertheless, at least in the British Colonies and the United States, was the most brutal form of slavery ever known" (*The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 704). Mommsen, however, says with special reference to Sicilian slavery under the Roman dominion: "The abyss of misery and woe, which opens before our eyes in this most miserable of all proletariats, we leave to be fathomed by those who venture to gaze into such depths; it is very possible that, compared with the sufferings of the Roman slave, the sum of all Negro suffering is but a drop" (*History of Rome*, Everyman edition, iii. 75 f.).

In any case the indelible disgrace of those who, whether in British Colony or American State, practised or defended the system is the deeper that it was in flagrant defiance of the fundamental principles of the religion they professed. It was all the more despicable that, while defending the practice by the grotesque exegesis which transferred to

African negroes the curse pronounced on the Canaanites (Gen. ix. 25), it flouted the plain injunctions to the humanitarian treatment of slaves which so honourably distinguished the Hebrew Law. Deuteronomy we have seen provides that a fugitive slave who has escaped into Israel from the tyranny of his master shall not be restored to him, but may take up his residence wherever he pleases, and is not to be oppressed. This stands in striking contrast to the law and practice of some Christian slave-holding communities. The custom in Israel in the earlier period seems to have recognised the right of the master to reclaim the slave who had fled into a foreign country (1 Kings ii. 39 f.). The Code of Hammurabi prohibits on pain of death the sheltering of a runaway slave and enjoins restoration to the master.

The hired servant stood, of course, on a different footing from the slave. But economically his condition was precarious because his margin was so small. There must, especially in the later period of the monarchy, have been much chronic pauperism. No inconsiderable part of the population lived on the edge of starvation. They

were so poor that they often had to pledge their outer garment during the day in order to buy food, and could redeem it only if they received their pay by sunset. It throws a lurid light on the social conditions, when we find that special legislation had to be enacted to forbid the labourer's wage being kept back when the day's work was done (Deut. xxiv. 14 f., Lev. xix. 13). The cruelty of deferred payment becomes clear to us when we learn that this outer garment was all that many had to protect them against the cold at night, so that if the money were held back at sunset they would have nothing in which to sleep. Job, thinking of his long-drawn-out sufferings, compares himself to a slave and a hired labourer (Job vii. 2). "As the slave bearing the burden and heat of the day pants for the shades of evening, when the heat dies into the coolness and rest soothes his aching limbs, or as the hired labourer looks forward to the wages that mark the end of his toil for the day (cf. Matt. xx. 8), and to both the evening seems so long in coming, so Job, panting for the grave, feels bitterly how wearisome are the months whose dreary length he must traverse ere he attains his release" (*Century Bible, Job*, p. 100).

The reference to the years of an hireling in Isa. xvi. 14, xxi. 16, is commonly taken to mean "exactly measured." The point would be that a contract of this kind would be rigidly enforced on both sides, the hired labourer taking care that he served for no more than the stipulated time, the master insisting that he served for no less.

WHEN we think of friendship in the Old Testament the first thing that comes to our mind is the story of David and Jonathan, the most famous of all the world's great examples of friendship. The impression which the story makes is that the palm should be awarded to Jonathan; and David himself in the noble tribute he paid to his friend lamented, "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan: very pleasant hast thou been unto me: thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (2 Sam. i. 26). And the fact that he composed this elegy, so magnanimous towards Saul and aglow with such love and admiration for Jonathan, shows that on his side also affection for his friend was very deep.

We may fittingly place beside this story that of Ruth and Naomi. It is true that the two women were connected by a marriage tie, since Ruth was Naomi's daughter-in-law. But, for the love of her

husband's mother, the widowed Ruth forsakes her own land and people, with words so exquisite that they still fall on our ears with a deathless charm: "Intreat me not to leave thee, and to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God: where thou diest will I die and there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me" (Ruth i. 16 f.).

Very different emotions are aroused by the mention of Job's friends. Their friendship with Job was of long standing and he counted without any misgiving on their sympathy and understanding. They would acquit him of the sins which bereavement so complete and suffering so extreme implied for the theology of their time. Alas! they abandoned their conviction of their friend's integrity rather than sacrifice their traditional theology. Beginning as gently as they could, accepting Job's real goodness in the main, but convinced that grave transgressions had marred his record, they go from bad to worse, and Eliphaz at last charges him with sins of the most brutal

kind. But even the first speech of Eliphaz comes to the sufferer as a bitter disappointment. In a fine metaphor (Job vi. 15–20) he compares his confident reliance on his friends to sustain his failing faith, with the confidence with which the caravan approaches the stream whose waters must replenish their supplies if they are not to die of thirst. What in the winter time had been a foaming torrent, turbid with ice, is now a dry watercourse, which fails the travellers in their need; and they perish in their desperate search for other supplies. And so "Job's comforters" have passed into a proverb.

The theme is not one which is prominent in the Old Testament. There are a few references in Proverbs, but unfortunately the text and interpretation are in some instances doubtful. In xviii. 24 we should perhaps read "There are friends who only seek society, but there is a lover that sticketh closer than a brother." Here the contrast is between those who cultivate their friends simply as a gratification of their social instincts, and the true friends who stand by those whom they love under all conditions. There is a contrast in xxvii. 6 between the sincerity of the wounds inflicted by a friend

and the deceitfulness of the kisses of an enemy. The advantages of society are suggested in the proverb "as iron sharpens iron so a man sharpens his friend" (xxvii. 17). And the value of retaining old friends is urged in the proverb "Forsake not thy friend or thy father's friend" (xxvii. 9). The steadfastness of the true friend is brought out in the proverb "A friend loves at all times, and a brother is born for adversity" (xvii. 17).

THE fact of poverty has left its mark deep on the Old Testament. While it seems never to have been wholly absent, it was probably much less widespread and acute in the simpler conditions which prevailed in the time of the Judges and the earlier kings, than in the later period when social and economic distinctions were more accentuated. The effect of the long wars with Syria, followed by the victories of Joash and Jeroboam II, and the great expansion of dominion, with the accumulation of wealth and the spread of luxury, is to be seen in the increase in the number of the destitute and their deplorable condition. The prophets from the eighth century onwards, the poets and the sages, have much to say of the heartless rapacity of the rich and the misery of the defenceless poor.

There is less in the legislation than we might have anticipated; only we must

remember that the laws intended to secure the welfare of the widow and orphan, the resident alien and the Levite, were largely designed to protect the most destitute classes of the community. The duty of lending to the poor and taking no interest is laid down both in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxii. 24) and the Law of Holiness (Lev. xxv. 35–37). Deuteronomy enjoins that loans must be made to the poor even when the year of release, which would cancel the loan, is at hand (xv. 1–11). The significance of the law that the poor man's pledge is to be restored at sundown, "that he may sleep in his garment and bless thee" (Deut. xxiv. 12 f.) is indicated elsewhere (p. 64). The demand that the poor shall have justice done to them in the courts is made in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxiii. 6) and constantly reappears in the later literature. The Law of Holiness instructs that the corners of the field are to be left and the stray ears of corn are not to be gleaned nor the fruit that lies scattered about the vineyard. They are to be left for the poor and the stranger (Lev. xix. 9 f.).

The prophets speak with flaming indignation about the heartless oppression of the

destitute. Amos describes how the tyrants trample the heads of the poor in the dust (ii. 7); they insist on presents from their scanty stores of wheat (v. 11); they cheat them by false weights and measures; they purchase them as their slaves in discharge of trifling debts; they mix the refuse wheat with the good wheat and sell it to the poor (viii. 5). Isaiah condemns his hearers because they have the spoil of the poor in their houses; what do they mean by crushing God's people and grinding the face of the poor? (iii. 14 f.). Micah his contemporary speaks in even more drastic language of those who flay their victims and tear their flesh from their bones and chop them to pieces as if they were going to cook them (iii. 1–3). Similar complaints, though not expressed in such violent metaphor, are uttered by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah.

But it is in the poetical and Wisdom literature that the most frequent mention of the poor is to be found. There are numerous references in the Psalms to the violence from which the needy have to suffer (ix. 12; x. 2, 9; xii. 5; xxxv. 10; xxxvii. 14; xli. 1 f.; lxxxii. 4). The ideal king is one

who judges the poor with judgment (lxxii. 2). Yahweh Himself is their deliverer (xii. 5; xxxv. 10); He has not forgotten their cry and He will avenge their blood (ix. 12). Blessed is the man who considers them (xli. 1).

It is not surprising that Job, whose sufferings had sharpened his perceptions of the misery which was all about him, should speak of the misery of the poor. Several times he refers to his charitable care of them in the days of his prosperity. He delivered the poor who cried, the orphan who had no one to help him (xxix. 12). He was like a father to the destitute (xxix. 16), he satisfied their hunger (xxxi. 16), and gave the fleece of his sheep to warm those who were ready to perish from cold (19 f.). But he has watched with pity the misery of the needy who carry home the harvest but may not appease their hunger with the corn; who tread the grapes in the winepress but are not permitted to slake their thirst (xxiv. 10 f.).

It is interesting that the Book of Proverbs makes proportionately more copious reference to this subject than any other Old Testament book. Some of the aphorisms describe the

unhappy consequences of poverty—the dislike which is felt for the poor even by his brethren, still more so by neighbour and friend (xiv. 20, xix. 7), or the contrast between the rich man whose wealth secures him friends in abundance and the poor whose destitution alienates his friends (xix. 4). While wealth safeguards its owner against calamity, the poverty of the poor is their destruction, since they cannot protect themselves against persecution or misfortune (x. 15). While the rich man can afford to be overbearing and insolent, the needy must use humble entreaties (xviii. 23). In an interesting passage (xxx. 7–9) the writer prays that he may be saved from the moral perils both of poverty and riches. For wealth may lead him to ignore the Giver of all good, while poverty may lead to theft which will sully the reputation of his God. Many of the proverbs commend mercy to the poor (xiv. 21, xix. 17, xxi. 13, xxviii. 27) or condemn oppression and injustice (xiv. 31, xxii. 16, 22 f., xxviii. 3, xxx. 14).

At this point it will be convenient to make a digression that we may consider the question of interest on loans to which reference has already been made.

An interesting problem is raised for the modern reader by the frequent denunciations of usury in the Old Testament. For ourselves the suggestion in the term is the exorbitant interest demanded by a money-lender. But in the Bible the word simply means "interest." In the Book of the Covenant it is enjoined that interest must not be taken on a loan to the poor (Exod. xxii. 25). Deuteronomy forbids interest on loans to fellow-Israelites, but it may be charged on loans to foreigners (Deut. xxiii. 19 f.). In Lev. xxv. 35–37 a brother Israelite who becomes poor is to be supported and no interest is to be charged for the assistance rendered him. In the enumeration of the qualities which characterise the righteous, Ezekiel includes the refusal to take interest (xviii. 8); and among the qualifications which the Psalmist mentions for those who shall sojourn in Yahweh's tabernacle is that he shall not have put out his money to interest (xv. 5). Nehemiah finds that, in consequence of the scarcity of food, and in order to raise money to pay the tribute to the king of Persia, many of the Jews had been obliged to mortgage their possessions and even to sell their children into slavery,

owing to the exaction of interest by the richer Jews. At a great assembly he put the case very forcibly to the profiteers, urging the wrong to their poorer brethren which their conduct involved and exhorting them to leave off this exaction of interest (Neh. v. 1–13).

It is quite clear that this condemnation of interest is irrelevant to our own conditions. The investment of capital on which interest is paid is a convenience alike to borrower and lender, and makes possible many enterprises which would otherwise remain undeveloped. If a man allows another to use his property, for his own purposes, he has a right to be compensated for what he loses through the fact that he does not employ it himself. But in Israel interest was charged for money lent to those in extreme poverty. People did not borrow for the same purpose for which they borrow to-day, they were driven to it only by the most cruel necessity. It was therefore inhuman avarice to take advantage of their distress and relieve their difficulties in such a way as to get them even more deeply entangled in the toils. If a man does not know where to get his next meal, it is sheer brutality, when

lending him what will relieve his distress, to charge him interest on the loan. Jesus Himself in one of His parables mentions interest in such a way as to show that, under conditions analogous to our own, He would raise no objection to it: "Thou oughtest to have taken my money to the bank, and then at my coming I should have received my own with interest" (Matt. xxv. 27; Luke xix. 23).

It was natural that anyone who lent money should require some security for repayment. This is recognised in the Law, but provision is made against abuse; though it is clear that the heartless rapacity of the creditor often bore hardly on the defenceless borrower. The regulation that if the cloak is taken in pledge it must be restored by sundown, since otherwise the borrower has nothing in which to sleep (Exod. xxii. 25 f.; Deut. xxiv. 12 f.) is referred to elsewhere. The clause in the indictment drawn up by Amos against the rich, "they lay themselves down beside every altar upon clothes taken in pledge," shows how the law was disregarded. Deuteronomy enacts that the mill or the upper millstone may not be taken, because this was to take the man's very life (xxiv. 6).

Owing to the fact that the milling was generally done at home and every day, the indispensable food could not be prepared without it. Deuteronomy also enjoins that the pledge for a loan shall not be fetched out of the house by the lender, but brought out by the borrower (xxiv. 10 f.). Thus the choice of the pledge was not left to the lender, who might exercise it in an inconsiderate, or even ruthless, way. (For Job xxiv. 3, 9 see p. 82.) In the bitterly unjust accusations Eliphaz brings against Job, he says:

> "For thou hast taken pledges of thy brother for nought,
> And stripped the naked of their clothing" (xxii. 6).

"In his merciless avarice he has taken advantage of the desperate extremity of his clansmen, and in security for loans has deprived them of their under garment." (*Century Bible: Job*, p. 213). There is another reference: which is thus rendered by Toy:

> "Take his garment—he is surety for another!
> For another hold him in pledge!" (Prov. xxvii. 13).

The point is that he who has foolishly made

himself responsible for another man's debt must expect to forfeit the security.

While the poor are constantly mentioned, there are special classes often singled out by the Biblical writers. These are the widow, the orphan, the stranger, and occasionally the Levite. So far as the Levite is concerned, the references are characteristically Deuteronomic. While the Priestly Code assigns considerable revenue to the Levites, Deuteronomy treats them as an indigent and dependent class of the community. Its fundamental law (xii. 5–18) was the centralisation of the sanctuary, and this involved the abolition of the local sanctuaries. The Levites who were thus dispossessed might therefore be thrown on the charity of the community. They are included with the widow and the fatherless, and instructions are given that the Levite is not to be forsaken (Deut. xii. 19, xiv. 27). When the farmer takes his tithe to the central sanctuary that he may use it for a sacred feast, he is counselled to invite the Levite, since he has no portion or inheritance, to participate in the feast (xii. 17–19, xiv. 22–27). But every third year the tithe is to be entirely devoted to the Levite, the

stranger, and the widow (xiv. 28 f., xxvi. 12 f.). They are to share in the feast of weeks (xvi. 10 f.) and the feast of tabernacles (13 f.). The Levite and the stranger are also to share in the feast of firstfruits (xxvi. 11).

Care for the widow and orphan is constantly enjoined. The oldest legislation prohibits oppression of them and, as already mentioned, special provision is made for them in Deuteronomy. They participate in the charity tithe, in the feast of weeks and of tabernacles. For them, with the stranger, the forgotten sheaf is to be left in the field at harvest. The olive tree is not to be exhaustively beaten nor the vineyard gleaned, so that they may share in the fruit (Deut. xxiv. 19 f.). Judgment is not to be perverted in the case of the stranger or the fatherless, nor may the widow's raiment be taken in pledge (xxiv. 17). Yahweh is He who executes the judgment of orphan and widow (x. 18).

The prophets also are concerned for benevolent treatment of those who have lost their natural protector. One of the stories about Elisha describes how he came to the relief of the prophet's widow whose two

children were to be taken for slaves by her creditor in payment of a debt (2 Kings iv. 1–7). Isaiah pleads for the rights of the orphan and for justice to be done to the widow (i. 17). He denounces those who give unjust verdicts, depriving them of their rights (xi. f.) Jeremiah exhorts his hearers to refrain from oppressing the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (vii. 6); and denounces the rich who do not plead the cause of the fatherless (v. 28). Ezekiel, enumerating the sins of Jerusalem, includes the wrong which has been done to the orphan and the widow (xxii. 7). Both Zechariah (vii. 10) and Malachi (iii. 5) forbid oppression of the widow and the fatherless.

In the Wisdom literature *Job* is pre-eminent for the prominence it gives to this subject. The wicked accusation of Eliphaz (Job xxii. 9) that Job had sent widows away empty, while the arms of the fatherless had been broken, is refuted again and again by Job himself. In the days of his prosperity he had delivered the helpless orphan and caused the widow's heart to sing for joy (xxix. 12 f.). He had not taken advantage of his strength to oppress the fatherless, in the assurance that the courts would not dare

to find him guilty (xxxi. 21). He had not disappointed the widow's longing for timely assistance in her need, and he had shared his food with the orphan (xxi. 16 f.). He had watched with indignation the heartless cruelty with which they had been treated by high-handed and lawless aggressors, who drive off the ass of the orphan or take the ox of the widow for a pledge (xxiv. 3). Another passage brings before us a still more heart-rending picture of the creditor who plucks the orphan from his mother's breast, and takes in pledge the suckling of the poor (xxiv. 9).

References in the Psalms are not frequent. For the most part they refer to Yahweh's vindication, against their oppressors, of these defenceless victims (x. 18, lxviii. 5, cxlvi. 9). In the rebuke He addresses to the angel rulers He bids them to judge the fatherless (lxxxii. 3).

Frequent reference is also made to the stranger. This word is used to translate various Hebrew terms, and it would save much confusion if a different rendering was uniformly employed for the class of persons of whom we are speaking. The Hebrew word *ger*, perhaps most conveniently ren-

dered "sojourner," is used for the foreigner who has settled in Israel under the protection of the community in which he resides or some powerful member of it. Those who were Hebrews by birth were protected, while living in their own land, by the tie of blood which bound them to the community. And they shared all the rights and privileges which it possessed. But the *ger* had no such rights by birth, and was therefore exposed to oppressive treatment, unless he had secured protection. He might become a client of the king or of the sanctuary or of some powerful person. But, inasmuch as he would be normally in a defenceless position, he would have to submit to the terms imposed upon him for the privilege. The legislators seek to protect his interests. The Book of the Covenant forbids him to be wronged or oppressed (Exod. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9), adding as a reason "ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." The same motive is more than once urged in Deuteronomy (x. 18; xxiv. 18). In the former of the passages it is noteworthy that Yahweh is said to love the sojourner in that He gives him food and raiment, and therefore the Hebrews ought

to love him. There are various privileges in which the sojourner is to share with the Levite, the widow, and the orphan.

There is one regulation (xiv. 21) which apparently conflicts with the humanitarian tendency of Deuteronomy: the Israelite is forbidden to eat anything that dieth of itself, but it may be given to the sojourner or sold to the foreigner. The prohibition does not rest, however, on the unwholesomeness of the food; but on the fact that Israel is a holy people unto Yahweh, and its holiness would be compromised by eating flesh from which the blood had not been drained. Humanitarian provisions similar to those in Deuteronomy are to be found in Lev. xix. 9 f., 33 f. The latter is a very remarkable passage, because it inculcates that the sojourner is to be treated by the Israelites as one of themselves, and receive an equal love. The maxim "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" was not first uttered by Jesus, though He gave it a larger reference than it originally bore (Lev. xix. 18). But the legislator did not limit his principle to love of one's neighbour, that is one's fellow-Israelite. He extended it to the sojourner who was of an alien race.

Prophets and psalmists also denounce wrongful treatment of the sojourner (Jer. vii. 6, xxii. 3; Ezek. xxii. 7, 29; Zech. vii. 10; Mal. iii. 5; Ps. xciv. 6).

THE principles and precepts laid down with reference to the poor, the Levite, the widow, the orphan, and the sojourner, illustrate the strong humanitarian strain in the Old Testament; and it will be convenient at this point to collect other examples of this quality. A word may be said on the treatment of animals. The Book of the Covenant inculcates the observance of the Sabbath that the ox and the ass may rest (Exod. xxiii. 12). Deuteronomy forbids the ox to be muzzled as it treads out the corn (xxv. 4). It is not clear that this motive is present in xxii. 6 f. where the mother bird is to be spared, though the young ones or the eggs may be taken. Nor is the command to bring back the strayed ox or ass of a neighbour (xxii. 1–3) or to assist in lifting up the fallen animal (xxii. 4) due to humanitarian motives. The conduct required falls rather under duty to neighbour. In Prov. xii. 10 we are told that the righteous attends to the comfort

of his beast, while the compassion of the wicked is cruel. The Book of Jonah culminates in its declaration of the Divine pity for the cattle of the Ninevites; while the psalmists praise the care of God for the lower creation. The hamstringing of horses taken in battle is mentioned with approval in Joshua xi. 6, 9 and 2 Sam. viii. 2. The command "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk" is probably not intended to protect the Hebrews against the blunting of their finer sensibilities; it is apparently directed against a magical practice.

Humanitarian principles in which the brotherhood of men comes to expression are frequently enunciated. The protection of the physically weak or economically defenceless had been already sufficiently illustrated; but the thoughtfulness of the lawgivers for those who are at a disadvantage through physical disability deserves mention. One of the curses in Deut. xxvii. is pronounced on him who makes the blind to wander out of his way (ver. 18) and the Law of Holiness forbids the placing of a stumbling-block before the blind (Lev. xix. 14). In the same passage we read "Thou shalt not curse the deaf." This conveys but little meaning to

the modern reader, for we attach no efficacy to a curse, but regard it as an undesirable relief of ill-regulated emotions. But for antiquity a curse was far more than this. It was thought to be charged with maleficent energy, a baleful power of self-fulfilment. If the victim heard it, he could take precautions to defeat it; but the deaf man was prevented by his infirmity from knowing that the curse had been uttered, and therefore could not protect himself against its operation. A pleasant contrast is to be found in Job's claim that in the days of his prosperity he had been eyes to the blind and feet to the lame (Job xxix. 15). One of the sins with which the exasperated Eliphaz finally charges Job is that he had not given water to the weary or food to those faint with hunger (xxii. 7). The charge, it need not be added, was entirely false; the last resort of a desperate controversialist, determined at all costs to maintain the traditional orthodox opinion.

The Sabbath rest, which in Genesis is imposed as conformity with the rest of God after the toil of creation, has in the Deuteronomic version of the Decalogue a humanitarian motive, that the slaves as well as their

master may rest (v. 12–15). As often elsewhere in this book, the command is enforced by a reminder that the Hebrews had been slaves in Egypt, and should therefore, remembering their own hard lot, be merciful to their own slaves. The cattle and the beasts of burden are explicitly included in the command. But earlier, in the Book of the Covenant, the same motive for the Sabbath rest is given—that ox and ass, the son of the handmaid, and the sojourner may be refreshed.

The denunciations of heathen nations with which the Book of Amos opens (i. 3; ii. 3) clearly indicate the burning hatred of the prophets for atrocities and sins against our common humanity; but it is noteworthy that when the prophet turns to consider his own people, it is for sins of inhumanity that he denounces them also. In other words, he does not fasten on offences against principles which had been revealed to Israel but withheld from the heathen, but for violation of those elementary duties of justice and mercy which Israel and the nations ought alike to have practised. In this he strikes a note which loudly resounds in the utterances of his successors, sometimes ex-

plicitly formulated as in Hosea's great word, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice" (vi. 66), or in the still greater utterance of a later prophet, "What doth Yahweh require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Mic. vi. 8), sometimes present simply as the unexpressed postulate of their warnings or entreaties.

Two special military regulations deserve to be mentioned here, both characteristic of the humanitarian tendency of Deuteronomy. The legislator provides that exemption from military service shall be given to the man who has built a new house and not dedicated it, planted a vineyard and not enjoyed its fruit, betrothed a wife and has not taken her (Deut. xx. 5–7). Also the newly married man is not to take part in military service or be charged with any public business, but to remain at home for one year, that his wife may have the benefit of his society (xxiv. 5). The other regulation (xxi. 10–14) is interesting in view of the ruthlessness with which captive women might be treated. If a Hebrew takes a captive to wife she must be treated with consideration, and be allowed a month in which to mourn for her father and mother,

and afterwards the marriage may take effect. If her husband is subsequently disappointed or loses affection for her, he is to set her free, but is forbidden to sell her as a slave.

ONE of the most inveterate evils in oriental society is the maladministration of justice. Complaints of this abound in the writings of the prophets, the psalmists, and the sages; while explicit prohibitions are repeatedly given in the Law. So far as the legal codes are concerned, the regulations do not suggest that the principles of justice were flagrantly disregarded, since prohibitions on this subject would naturally be included, and they are not specially numerous. In the Book of the Covenant warnings are given against perversion of judgment by perjury, which may lead to the death of the innocent (Exod. xxiii. 1 f., 7) or a gift, which blinds the eyes (8). In view of the constant tendency of the law courts to weight the scales of justice against the poor, the admonition "Neither shalt thou favour a poor man in his cause" (3) strikes us as strange. But the writer may have felt it desirable to lay down the principle that justice should

be administered without partiality to either side, though a slight emendation of the text would give "great" instead of "poor." In the Law of Holiness we get the same admonition, however, repeated as in our present text. "Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment: thou shalt not respect the person of the poor nor honour the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour" (Lev. xix. 15). Deuteronomy lays down the principles as follows: "Thou shalt not respect persons: neither shalt thou take a gift; for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise and pervert the words of the righteous" (xvi. 19). In particular, as often in this book, the defenceless classes are specially singled out, "Thou shalt not wrest the judgment of the stranger nor of the fatherless; nor take the widow's raiment to pledge" (xxiv. 17). And in the solemn curses to be pronounced by the Levites these are included: "Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow" (xxvii. 19) and "Cursed be he that taketh reward to slay an innocent person" (25). In another passage it is enacted that a false witness is to be punished by infliction of

the penalty for the crime falsely alleged (xix. 19).

The most famous example of perjury to secure a man's death is that of Naboth (1 Kings xxi.). Jezebel, who had been a Tyrian princess, did not appreciate Hebrew ideas of a monarch's prerogatives. If a king coveted the vineyard of one of his subjects, the obvious thing was for him simply to seize it if the owner offered any opposition. But if an Israelite king was too squeamish for such action, or his people were likely to resent dangerously this violation of their rights, then the end must be reached by a more tortuous way. Accordingly she gave directions to the elders of Jezreel to provide two false witnesses, who would accuse Naboth of blasphemy, so that death by stoning might be carried out in due legal form; and thus Ahab, unwilling to strike, but willing to profit by the foul blow of his wife, might possess the coveted vineyard.

But it is from the prophets that we learn how rampant the evil was in Israelite society. The evidence is here so extensive that only a selection of it can be quoted. Amos, the earliest of our canonical prophets, denounces

the rich and powerful, " who turn judgment to wormwood, and cast down righteousness to the earth " (v. 7) or who turn " judgment into gall and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood " (vi. 12), who " hate him that rebuketh in the gate " (v. 10). He denounces the judges " that afflict the just, that take a bribe, and that turn aside the poor in the gate " (12). He bids his hearers " hate the evil and love the good and establish judgment in the gate " (5). And in a noble passage he represents Yahweh as rejecting all their costly sacrifices, their sacred feasts, their music in His worship. " I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt offerings and meal offerings, I will not accept them ; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs : for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment roll down as waters, and righteousness as an everflowing stream " (21–24).

Isaiah speaks much of this, as well as of other social evils. He laments that Jerusalem, once faithful, has become disloyal, once full of justice, the home of righteousness,

but now a den of murderers. Her silver is dross, her wine diluted, her rulers are rebels against Yahweh, they are hand-in-glove with the thieves, and accept part of the booty as a bribe for acquittal. But the widow and orphan cannot even get their case heard (i. 21–23). He pronounces his woe on those who justify the wicked for a reward, and take the righteousness of the righteous from him (v. 23). He denounces those who give unjust verdicts, robbing the poor, the widow, and the orphan of their rights (x. 1 f.). He closes his splendid parable of the thankless vineyard with the famous words "For the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the House of Israel, and the men of Judah the plant of his delight: and he looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry" (v. 7). He exhorts his hearers to seek judgment, restrain the oppressor, secure the rights of the fatherless, plead the cause of the widow (i. 17). And he looks forward to the happy future when tyrants will be extirpated, and those who tried to secure the perversion of justice (xxix. 20 f.); when kings should reign in righteousness and princes should rule in judgment (xxxii. 1). In his picture of the

Messianic King he emphasises his judicial functions and the equipment he will bring to the discharge of them. Infallibly guided in his decisions, he will not depend upon appearances or the testimony of witnesses; but he will judge the poor with righteousness and defend the meek, he will smite the violent and slay the wicked (xi. 1–5).

Micah, Isaiah's contemporary, speaks of rulers who abhor judgment and pervert all equity, who build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity, and who judge for reward, though it is peculiarly for them to know judgment and to do it (iii. 9–11). Jeremiah has several exhortations on this matter, addressed especially to the royal house, that they should execute judgment and deliver the oppressed (vii. 5 f., xxi. 12, xxii. 2 f.). He contrasts Jehoiakim with his father. Josiah's administration was righteous, he judged the cause of the poor and the needy; but his worthless son cared only for dishonest gain, to slay the innocent, and to play the oppressor (xxii. 13–17). And when the Messiah comes he will execute judgment and righteousness in the land (xxiii. 5). In the indictment which Ezekiel draws up against his nation he predicts an

unsparing punishment, since Jerusalem is full of the wresting of judgment (ix. 9). Bribes have been taken in Jerusalem to secure the death of the innocent (xxii. 12 f.) and the princes are summoned for the future to execute judgment (xlv. 9). After the return from captivity, Zechariah insists that the people shall execute the judgment of truth and peace and refrain from oppression of the defenceless (vii. 9 f., viii. 16 f.).

When we turn to the poetical and Wisdom literature the same notes are struck. Proverbs describes as an abomination to Yahweh those who justify the wicked and who condemn the righteous (xvii. 15). The oracle on the duty of kings addressed to Lemuel (xxxi. 1–9) counsels abstinence from wine lest it incapacitate the monarch for his duty of judging righteously and ministering judgment to the poor. Job claims that in the days of his prosperity justice was his rôle, and that he had never raised his hand against the orphan because he was assured that he could win his case in the courts (Job xxxi. 21). The author of Ecclesiastes bids the reader not marvel at the perversion of justice; for there is one rank of vigilant officials above another, bearing heavily on

those beneath them, and they share the profit of the land (v. 8 f.). And in the Lamentations the downfall of Jerusalem is attributed to the sins of prophets and of priests, who have shed the blood of the just in the midst of her (iv. 13).

The Psalter, which is so full of complaints against wrong, has comparatively little on this theme. But complaints are made of false witnesses and murderous men whose right hand is full of bribes (xxvi. 9 f., xxvii. 12). The angel rulers are upbraided by God for unjust judgment and respect of persons, and they are exhorted to judge the poor and defenceless and rescue them from the power of the wicked (lxxxii. 1–4). One of the features in the ideal character is that he takes no reward against the innocent (xv. 5). The ideal king is one Divinely equipped with righteousness, who judges the poor with justice and breaks the oppressor in pieces (lxxii. 1–4). For God Himself is He who executes judgment for the oppressed (ciii. 6, cxlvi. 7).

The criminal code of Israel is honourably distinguished by its freedom from atrocious or vindictive penalties. The *lex talionis*, or law of exact retribution, " life for life, eye

for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" (Exod. xxi. 24 f., cf. Deut. xix. 21, Lev. xxiv. 20) expressed, not the vindictive desire of the wronged to return what he had received, but the stern demand for absolute justice. The death penalty was of course inflicted for murder; and, if it was premeditated, not even the sanctity of the altar or the city of refuge could protect the criminal from the consequences of his deed (Exod. xxi. 12–14, Lev. xxiv. 17, Deut. xix. 11–13). If, however, death was due to accident, the manslayer could escape the avenger of blood by fleeing to an appointed refuge. In the oldest legislation this seems to have been the altar at the local sanctuary (Exod. xxi. 13 f.); but in the Deuteronomic legislation, which abolished the local sanctuaries and centralised the worship at one sanctuary, definite cities were appointed (Deut. iv. 41–43, xix. 1–13) to which the manslayer could flee. The law is still further elaborated in the Priestly Code (Num. xxxv. 9–34).

The death penalty was decreed for some other offences—the smiting or cursing of parents (Exod. xxi. 15, 17); sorcery

(Exod. xxii. 18; Lev. xx. 27; cf. Deut. xviii. 10 f.; 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 9); blasphemy (Lev. xxiv. 16; 1 Kings xxi. 8–14); idolatry (Exod. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii.); kidnapping a man to sell him into slavery (Exod. xxii. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7); Sabbath-breaking (Exod. xxxi. 14 f., xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32–36); profanation of the Day of Atonement (Lev. xxiii. 28–30); special forms of sexual offences. An animal which had killed a man was treated as guilty of murder (Gen. ix. 5). The ox which gored a man to death must be stoned, the owner is unpunished unless he has been notified of the ox's habit and has failed to take proper precautions. He is in that case to be put to death, or the death penalty may be remitted for compensation in money. If it is a slave that has been killed, then thirty shekels must be paid to the slave's master as compensation for the loss of the slave. But the ox was still to be stoned (Exod. xxi. 28–32). Culpable negligence, endangering human life, is forbidden by Deuteronomy (xxii. 8), in the case of the building of a new house. The flat roof is to be protected by a parapet lest anyone should fall from it and be killed. But no penalty for failure to comply with

the prohibition is assigned. If a pit is left uncovered, and an ox or ass falls into it, the owner of the pit is to pay the value in money, and keep the dead beast himself (Exod. xxi. 33 f.). A housebreaker might be killed by the householder without guilt, provided he was discovered in the night time. If, however, he was discovered in the daylight, then the owner who killed him was guilty of murder (xxii. 2 f.).

Apart from the death penalty and the *lex talionis*, or equivalent punishment, other penalties are named, either in the legal codes or in the other literature. Beating, at the discretion of the judge, is the subject of a regulation in Deut. xxv. 1–3. The number of stripes is to be determined by the nature of the crime; but it is strictly limited to forty stripes. Probably the bastinado is intended. The reason assigned for the limitation in number is not that further beating would be cruel, but that it would inflict undue humiliation on the sufferer and degrade him in the sight of his fellows. "Forty stripes he may give him, he shall not exceed: lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy brother should seem vile unto thee." Else-

where in the Old Testament beating is frequently mentioned, though it probably took other forms than the bastinado. The stocks and the collar are also mentioned (Jer. xx. 2, xxix. 26) as instruments of punishment, but their precise nature is unknown. Bodily mutilation, except under the *lex talionis*, is rare. The only case in the Law is the cutting off the hand of the woman guilty of the offence mentioned in Deut. xxv. 11. Imprisonment was not recognised in the Law as a form of punishment, though it may sometimes have served this purpose. But often it was used simply to keep an accused person in custody till his case could be decided. But in the later period confinement seems in some instances to have been itself a penalty.

The normal method of execution among the Hebrews was stoning. Burning alive is prescribed as the penalty for unchastity in a priest's daughter (Lev. xxi. 9) and for a specially flagrant violation of the laws of prohibited degrees (Lev. xx. 14). It was the penalty with which Tamar was threatened by Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 24). Hanging, by which impalement may generally be intended, was inflicted, but on the dead and not apparently on the living (Deut. xxi. 21 f.;

Josh. viii. 29, x. 26; 2 Sam. xxi. 5–13), and mutilation might be practised on the dead body also, as on the murderers of Ishbaal, who were slain and after their hands and feet had been cut off were hanged (iv. 12). On the whole we may say that the Hebrews carried through their executions by methods which avoided unnecessary pain to the victim; and that the atrocious cruelty which was deliberately inflicted by many other nations in antiquity, such as burning, crucifixion, flaying, did not stain their administration of justice. Nor do we find any trace of the use of torture, either to extract confession from a criminal or evidence from witnesses. In the cutting off of the thumbs and great toes of Adonibezek the victim himself saw a just retribution for the similar mutilation he had practised on seventy other kings (Judges i. 6 f.). And Gideon's drastic punishment of the elders of Succoth (viii. 16), while from our point of view an exhibition of barbarism, must not be judged with undue harshness when we remember the times in which he lived, the unpatriotic character of the victims, and the extreme provocation he had received. In judging Saul's massacre by Doeg's instru-

mentality of eighty-five priests for suspected complicity with David, and putting to the sword men and women, children, sucklings, and animals (1 Sam. xxii. 18 f.), we must remember the insanity from which he suffered and his conviction that David was aiming at the throne.

IX *Sins Against Brotherhood*

AMONG the anti-social vices we must reckon pride and arrogance. The Biblical writers view them frequently from the standpoint of religion, rather than from that of social ethics. It is their sense of the majesty and greatness of God which causes them to look on the haughtiness of man as an irreligious attitude, which is certain to bring down on the offender the judgment of God. Isaiah in his vision had seen Yahweh on His throne, high and lifted up (vi. 1); and so he looks for a Day of Yahweh on all that is proud and haughty, when the loftiness of man shall be humbled and his haughtiness abased (ii. 12). He anticipates that Assyria will prove the rod of Yahweh's anger with which He will chastise the other nations and Israel in particular. But Assyria has failed to recognise that it is but an instrument in Yahweh's hand and has ascribed its victories to its own power; so for its arrogant boastfulness it will be punished when its task is complete

(x. 5–15). He writes with scathing indignation of the aristocratic women of Jerusalem, who walk the streets of Zion with haughty disdain, luxurious in their dress, affected in their manners, wanton in their glances, and predicts for them a fate which will touch them where they are most sensitive (iii. 16–iv. 1). Two prophets of the Exile attack Babylon for her haughty insolence and predict her overthrow (Isa. xiii. 11; xlvii.).

Sage and psalmist speak frequently of this vice. Haughty eyes come first in the list of the seven things which are hateful to Yahweh (Prov. vi. 16–19). Pride engenders nothing but strife; but with those who accept advice there is wisdom (xiii. 10). Its consequences are often indicated. It brings disgrace in its train, but the humble possess wisdom (xi. 2). Few passages in the book are more familiar than xvi. 18, "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." Before destruction a man is haughty, but humility leads on to honour (xviii. 12). In the Psalms there is nothing essentially new, but the following passages may be compared: xviii. 27; xxxi. 18; lxxv. 4 f.; cxix. 69 f., 78.

A feature of the Old Testament which is

apt to impress us unpleasantly is the vindictiveness which comes to expression in it. Much of this is directed against foreign enemies, especially Israel's oppressors; and this is largely dealt with in the discussion of Israel's relation to other peoples. But the Psalms in particular are marred by violent outbursts of vindictive hate and imprecations on enemies. These are in fact so numerous and sometimes so lengthy that only a selection can be made. The enemies of whom the writers complain are treated as God's enemies and as utterly ungodly people. This conviction that the cause of the writer is the cause of God may be allowed to palliate, though it cannot justify or even excuse, the bitterness of temper, the prayers for signal vengeance, the unconcealed delight when the enemy is trampled in the dust. Yahweh hates the wicked and the violent, the Psalmist prays that coals of fire and brimstone may be rained upon them, and that the scorching sirocco may be the portion of their cup (Ps. xi. 6). He counsels the righteous against anger and envy of the evil, because they shall soon be mown down like grass (xxxvii. 1 f.). He prays for their extermination, and praises Yahweh because

his eye has seen his desire upon his enemies (liv. 5–7). Let their teeth be dashed out, let them melt away like swiftly passing water; and the righteous will rejoice when he sees vengeance overtake them and wash his footsteps in their blood (lviii. 6–10). God will shatter their heads, and the victor's foot will be bathed in blood and dogs will devour them (lxviii. 21–23). The most sustained, deliberate, and virulent of these passages is the incantation we find in Ps. cix. 6–20 in which the writer heaps imprecations not only on his enemy, but on the parents of his enemy, his widow and his children.

It is painful to find in Jeremiah similar features. His fellow-citizens had plotted his destruction and, conscious of his integrity, which lies bare to the view of the great Searcher of hearts, he prays that he may see God's vengeance upon them (xi. 20, cf. xv. 15). We find similar language in xx. 11 f. But it is not improbable that the vindictive outburst in xviii. 21–23 is an editorial insertion. The poet of Lam. iii., who is not to be identified with Jeremiah, closes his complaint with a prediction of Yahweh's vengeance and an imprecation of His curse upon the oppressor.

It is a relief to turn to Job's oath of self-vindication in which he asserts that he had never rejoiced at the destruction of the enemy who hated him or exulted when calamity came upon him; indeed he had never gratified his palate by invoking a fatal curse upon him (Job xxxi. 29 f.). The Law of Holiness forbids the wreaking of vengeance on or bearing any grudge against a fellow-Israelite (Lev. xix. 18), or any hatred of a brother in the heart. A man is to love his neighbour as himself (Lev. xix. 17 f.) The Book of the Covenant ordains that the stray ox or ass of an enemy is to be brought back to him (Exod. xxiii. 4), and if the ass of an enemy has fallen under its burden, help must be given in lifting it up (5). Joy over the downfall of an enemy is forbidden in Proverbs because of the displeasure it will give to Yahweh, which may turn His anger from the enemy to the man guilty of this unseemly exultation (xxiv. 17 f.). In the same book we have the famous passage: "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink: for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and the Lord shall reward thee" (xxv. 21 f.). The writer means that

such magnanimity will burn the sense of shame for his earlier hostility into him. We may compare the Psalmist's words, " I have delivered him that without cause is mine enemy " (Ps. vii. 4).

Illustrations of such nobleness of conduct, by which evil is conquered by good, may be seen in Joseph's forgiveness of his brothers and his generosity to them; in David's sparing the life of Saul when he was at his mercy, and his forgiveness of Shimei; and perhaps in Esau's forgiveness of Jacob. Abraham's treatment of Lot, when it became necessary for them to part, does not of course fall into this category; but it shows a similar magnanimity of spirit that he who was the elder of the two and stood to the younger in an almost fatherly relation, and was the leader of the expedition, should have granted Lot his choice of pasturage which he might have reserved for himself.

One of the most serious sins against Brotherhood is untruthfulness. It destroys the confidence which is the cement of society; and its prevalence in Israel is all too clear from the great frequency of reference to it in the Old Testment. But what ought to command our attention more is

that the Old Testament writers so vehemently protest against it. So far as it took the form of false witness reference is made to it in the discussion on the administration of justice. But apart from perjury in the Law Courts, we hear much of lying, insincerity, and treachery. Even the most venerable figures in the history were guilty of untruthfulness. The story of the patriarch who passed his wife off as his sister is told twice of Abraham (Gen. xii. 11–20, xx.), and once of Isaac (xxvi. 6–11). Jacob, at the instigation of his mother, deceived his father, both by word and deed, and defrauded Esau of the blessing (xxvii.). He was indeed repaid in his own coin; for Laban by a trick foisted Leah upon him in place of Rachel (xxix. 23–27); while his sons stripped Joseph of the coat his father had given him and, dipping it in blood, produced it as evidence to Jacob that his favourite son had been killed (xxxvii. 31–35).

David puts into the mouth of Jonathan a false excuse for his absence from the feast of the new moon (1 Sam. xx. 5 f.) which Jonathan duly presents to his father (28 f.). He lies to Ahimelech at Nob that he may get provision and a weapon (xxi. 1–9). He

pretends to be mad when he takes refuge with Achish (10–15). Later, when Achish allows him to settle in Ziklag, he falsely tells the king that he had made raids against his own people, and puts all his prisoners to death lest they should disclose the truth (xxvii. 5–12). He crowns his career of deception by his treatment of the loyal Uriah (2 Sam. xi.).

There are frequent references to this vice in the prophets. Hosea asserts that there is no truth in the land, but only false swearing and lying (iv. 1 f.; vii. 1; x. 4). Jeremiah is specially copious in his complaints of it. It is not chiefly of mere falsehood that he complains, but of treachery, insincerity, murderous designs masked by a show of friendliness. He feels that society is utterly corroded by this vice. He desires to have a comfortless khan in the desert rather than to live in society. All his people are treacherous. He can trust no one, not even brother or neighbour. For every brother will play the part of Jacob to Esau; they are tricksters and slanderers who have trained the tongue to lie, given by God, though it had been, to utter the truth. Their tongue is a deadly arrow; a man speaks peace to

his neighbour, but in his heart he is laying wait for him (ix. 2–8). He expostulates with Yahweh on the security of those who deal treacherously, and God replies to his complaint, forewarning him of worse conflicts in store: "If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how wilt thou vie with horses? And if in a land of peace thou fleest, then how wilt thou do in the jungle of Jordan?" (xii. 1–5). He tells him of the treachery of his kinsfolk, adding "believe them not, though they speak thee fair." Ezekiel passes severe censure on Zedekiah for breaking his oath of allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar (xvii. 12 ff.). Zechariah pictures the flying roll which is to enter into the house of the perjurer, and consume it (v. 3 f., see further Mic. vi. 12; vii. 5 f.; Zeph. iii. 13).

Proverbs more than once asserts that lying lips are an abomination to Yahweh (vi. 17, 19; xii. 22); the author of the last passage adds "they that deal truly are his delight." The Psalmists have numerous allusions to truth and falsehood. They constantly complain of false witnesses, of those who are guilty of deception, whose conduct is stamped with insincerity and dissimulation, who

speak peace with their neighbour but cherish evil in their hearts, who bless with their lips but curse inwardly, who wrest men's words from their true meaning. Such men God abhors and He will destroy them. It is a mark on the other hand of the man of ideal character, that he speaks truth in his heart, that he has not sworn deceitfully, nay, when he has sworn to his own damage will abide by his oath, who has not companied with the insincere and the dissemblers (xv. 2, 4; xxiv. 4; xxvi. 4; cf. xxxiv. 13).

It is clear from various references that the talebearer was very active in the community. His mischievous activities are prohibited in Lev. xix. 16 and, as we should expect, there are several references in the Book of Proverbs. It is not necessary to assume that his stories were always malicious inventions, or even exaggerations of the truth. His betrayal of what he has learnt in confidence is condemned in such a passage as "a talebearer revealeth secrets: but he that is trustworthy concealeth the matter" (Prov. xi. 13, cf. xx. 19). But no doubt the tales that were circulated lost nothing in the repetition. How much mischief he made is suggested by a pungent proverb, "Where there is no wood

the fire goes out: and where there is no talebearer contention will cease" (xxvi. 20). How greedily the listener welcomes the damaging story is expressed by another saying, "the words of a talebearer are like dainty morsels" (xviii. 8; xxvi. 22).

The Old Testament has much to say of theft, robbery, dishonesty, and the greed and covetousness which lead to these crimes. Both stealing and coveting are prohibited in the Decalogue. It is not unlikely that coveting implies more than the desire itself, it may include the attempt to give effect to it (cf. Exod. xxxiv. 24). The Law of Holiness forbids theft, deception, and lying to one another, and enjoins that a neighbour may not be oppressed or wronged (Lev. xix. 11, 13). In the history we have the incident of the Danites who robbed Micah of his gods and his priest (Judges xviii.). Ahab's appropriation of Naboth's vineyard, after Jezebel had secured his judicial murder by perjury, is another example. But the prophets enable us to see how common robbery and high-handed seizure of the property of the weak must have been. Nathan's parable of the ewe lamb (2 Sam. xii. 1–4) aroused David's passionate indignation; but it was

only too true to the condition that often prevailed. Amos denounces those who store up violence and robbery in their palaces (iii. 10). Hosea complains of the prevalence of theft (iv. 2), he describes how the thief enters the house to steal, while the bands of robbers infest the highway without (vii. 1).

A special form of open or disguised robbery was land-grabbing. Isaiah denounces those who add house to house and field to field (v. 8); while his contemporary Micah speaks of those who covet fields and seize them, and houses, and take them away (ii. 2). There are several references to the removal of the landmark. It is prohibited in Deut. xix. 14 and one of the curses enumerated in Deut. xxvii. is directed against this practice. Hosea compares the princes of Judah to those who are guilty of it (v. 10); Job quotes it as an example of high-handed oppression (xxiv. 2). Twice it is forbidden in Proverbs (xxii. 28, xxiii. 10). The latter passage illuminates the significance of the act by adding "and enter not into the fields of the fatherless." It is noteworthy that in Deut. xix. 14 and both of the passages in Proverbs stress is laid on the fact that the landmark was ancient, the feeling being that

its antiquity conferred a special sanctity upon it. Jeremiah complains of violence and spoil (vi. 7) and that everyone is given to covetousness (13). Ezekiel speaks of those who secure greedy and dishonest gain by oppression (xxi. 12 f., 27, see further Hab. ii. 9; Zech. v. 3; Ps. i. 18; lxii. 10).

In this connexion reference may be made to the prevalence of cheating in commercial transactions. Amos represents the profiteers of his time as longing for the new moon or the Sabbath to be gone, that they may resume their nefarious practices, "making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and dealing falsely with fraudulent balances" (viii. 5). That is, in selling the wheat (viii. 5) they measured it in too small an ephah and weighed the money the purchaser had to pay against a shekel of excessive weight. And in addition to this they contrived to arrange the balances in their favour. A later prophet similarly speaks of "the scant ephah that is abominable," the wicked balances, and the bag of deceitful weights (Mic. vi. 10 f.). In Prov. xi. 1 we read: "a false balance is an abomination to the Lord: but a just weight is His delight" (cf. xx. 10, 23). To Yahweh belong just balance and

scales, all the weights of the bag are His work (xvi. 11). The matter is dealt with in the legislation. Divers weights and measures are forbidden, i.e. differentiated according as they were to be used in buying or selling. They must be complete and just, i.e. of the exact weight or capacity, and the same must be used whether for buying or selling (Deut. xxv. 13–15). So the Law of Holiness ordains "Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure. Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin, shall ye have" (Lev. xix. 35 f.).

X *The Unity and the Disintegration of Israel*

THROUGHOUT its history Israel felt itself to be a unity. It found the basis of this in descent from a common ancestor. Not, be it observed, from Abraham, with whom the covenant had been made and to whom the promise had been given: nor yet from Isaac, the child of promise. Otherwise Ishmael and still more Esau and their descendants should have belonged to the chosen people. But Israel consisted of the descendants of Jacob. In actual fact, of course, its structure was far more composite; for the tradition itself tells us of the mixed multitude which accompanied the Hebrews from Egypt (Exod. xii. 8), and no doubt Israel absorbed a large number of the Canaanites in Palestine. But this did not permanently confuse or blunt the sense of national brotherhood. Nor was it broken even by the strain of civil war or the disruption of the State. Yet there were forces at

work which greatly marred the expression of it.

Naturally there were intertribal jealousies. Some of these may be reflected in the stories of the sons of Jacob. The most conspicuous instance would be the hatred of which Joseph was the victim. Possibly the account of Reuben's misconduct with Bilhah (Gen. xxxv. 22, xlix. 4) may embody the recollection of some assault made by Reuben upon Dan and Naphtali, or a combination of these three tribes against the rest. But no certainty can be felt about this. The story of Dathan and Abiram, who belonged to the tribe of Reuben (Num. xvi.), may similarly imply a claim on the part of that tribe directed against the civil authority of the tribe of Levi represented by Moses. The story of Korah, which was originally independent, but is now blended with that of Dathan and Abiram, seems in its primary form to have related a revolt of the other tribes against the spiritual prerogatives of Moses and Aaron as representatives of Levi. On this a later story has been grafted in which Korah is the champion of the rest of the tribe of Levi against the priestly monopoly of Aaron and his family. The narra-

tive of the raid on Shechem by Simeon and Levi (Gen. xxxiv., cf. xlix. 5–7) may in one of its strands reflect the disapproval of their violence on the part of the other tribes. The overbearing attitude of Ephraim comes out in the stories of Gideon, who assuaged their anger with handsome words (Judges viii. 1–3), and Jephthah, who made them pay for their insolence by crushing defeat and heavy slaughter (xii. 1–6).

Judah was the most detached of the tribes. It is interesting, in view of later rivalries and combinations, that according to one source Reuben (Gen. xxxvii. 21 f.), according to another Judah (26), intervenes to save Joseph from the death his brothers have planned for him. And it is Judah who makes the wonderful and magnanimous appeal to Joseph on behalf of Benjamin (xliv. 18–34). But the narrative of the settlement shows us Judah acting in considerable independence (Judges i. 1–21); and it is most remarkable that in the Song of Deborah (v.) it is not mentioned, either for praise or blame, just as though it formed no real part of Israel. After the death of Saul it becomes David's kingdom for seven and a half years, while Ishbaal reigns over the rest of Israel

(2 Sam. ii. 1–11); both no doubt recognising the suzerainty of the Philistines. David succeeds in combining Judah with the other tribes in a single kingdom (v. 1–5). Yet his foolish partiality for his own tribe (xix. 11–15) led to a revolt under Sheba (xix. 40–xx. 5), which might easily have proved more disastrous than that of Absalom. Solomon, by his system of forced labour and lavish expenditure on Jerusalem, alienated the northern tribes; and when his iron hand was removed, the folly of Rehoboam completed the rupture (1 Kings xii. 1–20). As a result of the disruption there was constant war between the two kingdoms until the dynasty of Omri concluded peace with Judah. Twice in the later period hostilities broke out between the two kingdoms. Amaziah, king of Judah, foolishly challenged Joash the grandson of Jehu, who with a contemptuous illustration vainly tried to dissuade him from war by telling him of the thistle who asked the cedar to give his daughter in marriage to his son (2 Kings xiv. 8–14). The other occasion was when Israel and Syria, driven by apprehension of Assyria to form an alliance, tried to force Judah into it (xv. 37, xvi. 5). The occasion was notable for the counsel of Isaiah

to Ahaz, enforced by the sign of Immanuel, to remain quiet and not to seek deliverance from a temporary difficulty by bartering, for the support of Assyria, the independence of his country (Isa. vii. 1–16).

In spite, however, of the disruption of the kingdom and the wars between North and South, the sense of their unity still survived. We read that when Rehoboam was preparing to force his sovereignty on the Northern tribes, the prophet Shemaiah announced the oracle to the southerners, "Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren the children of Israel: return every man to his house; for this thing is of me" (1 Kings xii. 21–24). This illustrates the fundamental factor in this consciousness of unity, underlying all political separation and hostility, that it was rooted in religion. They were brethren because both belonged to the chosen people of Yahweh; and it was His will that ultimately the division should be healed, and there should be but one people, as in the palmy days of David and Solomon.

There are critical difficulties about some of the predictions of reunion in the earlier prophets; but Jeremiah looks forward to the return of Ephraim, and bids Rachel

cease her lamentation for the children who had gone into exile a hundred years before (Jer. xxxi.). And in the days which are to come, the New Covenant will be made with the whole people (31–34). Ezekiel by the union of the two sticks, one representing Judah and the other Joseph, which become one in his hand, symbolises the reunion of the two kingdoms. "And they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all" (xxxvii. 15–28).

The unknown writer in Jer. l. 4 predicts that "the children of Israel shall come, they and the children of Judah together; they shall go on their way weeping, and shall seek the Lord their God." Similarly in another, probably late, passage (Jer. iii. 18), we read, "In those days the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel, and they shall come together out of the land of the North to the land that I give for an inheritance unto your fathers." So in Hos. i. 11, "and the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and they shall appoint themselves one head and shall go up from the land." One of the most striking passages is to be found in the

prophecy of the return from the Dispersion appended to the Messianic prophecy in Isa. xi. Yahweh assembles the outcasts of Israel and gathers the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. "The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." And, when thus reunited, they pounce on their ancient foes and subdue them.

Thus we see how the consciousness of their original unity made the prophets feel not only that they were essentially one people while they were in Yahweh's land, but that no return from exile could be complete unless it embraced the whole people, and reunited them in Palestine under a monarch of David's house.

THE Old Testament is for the most part a frankly militarist book. Yahweh is the God of battles, "a man of war," the "captain of the host of the Lord." Not only does He lead the armies of Israel to victory, but He marshals the forces of nature against His enemies. The thunder is His voice, striking terror into His foes, the lightning flashes are the fiery shafts which He shoots from His bow. The stars in their courses fight against His adversaries. Hail and rain, flood and fire, are His instruments. So much are Israel's battles His battles, that the title of the book in which they are recorded is the Book of the Wars of Yahweh (Num. xxi. 14).

The patriarchal history is remarkable for its generally unwarlike character. Abraham's rescue of Lot is an isolated incident in his career, recorded in a narrative which in its present form is very late and the historicity of which is still under discussion

(Gen. xiv.). The attack of Simeon and Levi on Shechem (xxxiv. 25–29, cf. xlix. 5–7) hardly calls for mention in this connexion; but there is an enigmatic reference in Gen. xlviii. 22 to Jacob's capture of Shechem from the Amorites with his sword and his bow.

But from the time of the Exodus onwards the story is full of Israel's wars. Yahweh is the protagonist. Miriam celebrates His victory over the pursuing Egyptians in the famous word:

> "Sing ye to Yahweh, for he hath triumphed gloriously;
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."
> (Exod. xv. 21.)

He binds Himself by an oath to have war with Amalek from generation to generation (xvii. 14 f.) He pledges Himself to be an enemy to the enemies of Israel (xxiii. 22). His angel will go before His people to cut off the inhabitants of the promised land (23). The captain of Yahweh's host appears to Joshua to direct the investment of Jericho (Joshua v. 13–vi. 5). It is Yahweh who delivers the natives of Palestine into the hands of the Hebrews. It is He who deliberately inspires their obstinate resistance to

Israel, that they might be wiped out of existence (xi. 19 f.). Israel's enemies are regarded as His enemies, as is clear from the close of the Song of Deborah :

> " So let all thine enemies perish, O Yahweh :
> But let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might." (Judg. v. 31.)

The curse on Meroz in the same poem (23) is uttered, not because they failed to help their own people, but

> " Because they came not to the help of Yahweh,
> To the help of Yahweh among the heroes."

The battle cry of Gideon's army is " The sword of Yahweh and Gideon " (vii. 20.) The founding of the monarchy is due to the compassion of Yahweh for His people, since He has heard their cry, and has raised up Saul to deliver them from the Philistines (1 Sam. ix. 16). The sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry trees is the sign to David that He has gone in advance of the Hebrew army to smite the host of the Philistines (2 Sam. v. 24). And these are only illustrations of what is characteristic of the narratives. An incident which throws a rather curious light on antique ideas is the

conviction of the Syrians that Yahweh was a God of the hills; and the inference that if they could join battle on the plains, then Syria would be victorious (1 Kings xx. 23), an inference disastrously discredited in the sequel (29 f.). When the dying Elisha bids Joash shoot the arrow from his sick-room, with his hands on the king's hands, he exclaims "Yahweh's arrow of victory, even the arrow of victory over Syria" (2 Kings xiii. 15–19).

With our earlier canonical prophets there emerges a marked difference. For they were prophets of judgment, and thought of Yahweh, not so much as identifying Himself with His people and leading them to victory, but as using their enemies as instruments 'with which to chastise His people. Isaiah however, while he shares this attitude, and thinks of the Assyrians as the instruments of Divine vengeance on His apostate people, looks forward with confidence to the overthrow of Assyria for its boastful arrogance (x. 12–15). It is notable that in the famous passage (ix. 1–7) which culminates in the prediction of the Messiah's birth and reign, the last of the four titles he bears is "Prince of Peace." But it is frequently overlooked

that the Messiah does not achieve his empire by abstaining from war, but by successful prosecution of it. When he has subdued his enemies his reign is one of unbroken peace because there is no one to challenge his rule. Jeremiah steadily anticipated the downfall of Judah. He discouraged revolt from Babylon, as Isaiah had discouraged revolt from Assyria. He sees in Nebuchadnezzar the agent through whom the sentence on Judah is to be executed (xxv. 9, xxvii. 6). He counsels king and people to surrender during the siege of Jerusalem (xxi. 1–10, xxxiv. 2–5, xxxviii. 2, 17–23). His letter to those who had been carried into exile with Jehoiachin gives them the sane counsel to settle down in the land of their captivity, and study its peace as the guarantee of their own (xxix. 4–8). All the nations are to drink the cup of Yahweh's fury (xxv. 15 ff.). And in seventy years Babylon itself is to be overthrown (xxv. 11, xxix. 10, li. 63 f.).

But when the blow had actually fallen, the note of prophecy changed. Ezekiel had been sterner than any of his predecessors in his condemnation of his countrymen, and had predicted the overthrow of Judah with unfaltering certainty. But after the de-

struction of Jerusalem his message became one of hope. Judah and Israel will be reunited in their own land (xxxvii. 15–28). The heathen world will be judged. Yahweh will entice Gog and his hordes to attack Israel as their easy prey and thus give Yahweh a signal opportunity for vindicating His power, which the overthrow of His people had seemed to discredit, by the complete destruction of the vast invading hosts (xxxviii. f.). The Second Isaiah, writing towards the close of the Exile, hails in Cyrus the Divinely appointed deliverer who will overthrow Babylon and send the Jews back to their own land (xli. 2–4, 25, xliv. 28, xlv. 1–7, 13). And other prophets share this hope.

In prophecy after the return from exile there is not a little animated by bitter hostility to the heathen. Haggai and Zechariah anticipate the crash of the imperial power so that Judah may gain its independence and Zerubbabel come to the throne (Hag. ii. 6–10, 21–23, Zech. i. 10–21, vi. 9–15). And the later prophetic books in this period abound in prophecies on the destruction of the heathen world. But we must now turn to consider the character of Hebrew warfare.

One of the darkest blots on the conduct of Israel was the institution known as "the ban." It was not limited to Israel, for we find it mentioned on the Moabite Stone. Presumably it was derived by the Hebrews from their predecessors. The *herem* or ban was a vow of complete extermination of the enemy on whom it was pronounced. In its most drastic form it included every human being belonging to the devoted nation or city, all their animals and property. There were, however, modifications of this. Such part of the spoil as could appropriately be reserved for sacred purposes might be placed in the treasury of Yahweh. Or, while man and beast were utterly destroyed, the spoil might be appropriated by the Hebrews for their own use. Or, again, while all the other males were destroyed, the women and children, the animals and the rest of the spoil, might be appropriated by the people for themselves. In some cases only unmarried women might be exempt from slaughter.

But whatever the scope of the ban might be, it had to be executed with the utmost rigour. How grave, and indeed unpardonable, was the offence incurred by any relaxa-

tion of it is clear from the story of Achan (Joshua vii.), who appropriated from the spoils of Jericho "a goodly Babylonish mantle, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight." This cost the Hebrews a humiliating repulse at Ai (vii. 4–12); and it was only when the culprit was discovered and executed, along with his children, and all his property was destroyed, that Yahweh turned from the fierceness of His anger (24–26). Saul was commanded to smite Amalek and devote everything to destruction, to "slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass" (1 Sam. xv. 2 f., cf. Exod. xvii. 14 f., Deut. xxv. 17–19). He carried this out with the exception that he spared Agag, the king of Amalek, and the best of the sheep and oxen (1 Sam. xv. 9). So Samuel was sent to announce to Saul the rejection which his disobedience entailed (10 f.), and, after delivering his message (17–23), with his own hands he hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord (33).

Deuteronomy enacts that the cities of the Hittites, Amorites and other inhabitants of Canaan are to be placed under the ban, nothing that breathes is to be kept alive that

Israel may not learn their idolatrous abominations (xx. 16–18). In the late narratives of the conquest which we find in the Book of Joshua these instructions are rigidly carried out. Jericho (vi. 17–19, 21, 24) and Ai (viii. 22–29) head the long list, then the Hebrew leader passes on to more extensive operations. Such passages as these are typical: "So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country, and the South and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; he left none remaining, but he utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord the God of Israel commanded" (x. 40). "No city made peace with the Israelites, except the Hivites who dwelt in Gibeon; they conquered the whole land by force of arms; for the stubborn resistance of the Amorites was inspired by Yahweh Himself, in order that they might meet Israel in battle and be devoted without mercy, extirpated, as Yahweh commanded Moses" (xi. 19 f., quoted from Bennett's translation).

It is with relief that we learn from other parts of the story that this complete extermination of the original inhabitants did not actually take place. This is clear, not only from explicit statements to the contrary,

and from the conditions described in the sequel, but from the rather numerous explanations given to account for the perplexing fact that the Canaanites had *not* been destroyed.

Apart from the ban, something should be said on atrocities in warfare or other unnecessary aggravations of what must always be a horrible business. When David subdued Moab we are told (2 Sam. viii. 2) that he "measured them with the line, making them to lie down on the ground: and he measured two lines to put to death, and one full line to keep alive." The meaning seems to be that two-thirds of the male population were put to death. The hamstringing of all the chariot horses taken from Hadadezer, king of Zobah, with the exception of horses for a hundred chariots (4), seems to us wanton cruelty. The chariots were of little use in the hilly districts occupied by the Hebrews, so that David could not employ so many for military purposes. We read that Joshua, by Divine command, treated the horses of Jabin and his allies in the same way and burnt their chariots (Josh. xi. 9). It is possible that David tortured the prisoners taken at Rabbah and the other cities of

Ammon (xii. 31); but more probably we may relieve his reputation of this stain, and interpret that he set them to work with saws, harrows, and axes, and at brick-making. When the allied kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom had conquered Moab, at the bidding of Elisha "they beat down the cities; and on every good piece of land they cast every man his stone and filled it; and they stopped all the wells of water, and felled all the good trees" (2 Kings iii. 25). In Deut. xx. 19 f. it is enjoined that fruit trees are to be spared during a siege, "for is the tree of the field man, that it should be besieged of thee?" Other trees may be cut down and used for siege operations.

Atrocities were not limited to wars with foreigners. They were all too common in civil wars and revolutions. Baasha destroyed the whole family of Jeroboam (1 Kings xv. 29); Zimri destroyed every male member of the house of Baasha (xvi. 11). Jehu, after slaying the kings of Israel and Judah, and Jezebel, murders directly or indirectly the rest of Ahab's dynasty and the worshippers of the Tyrian Baal (2 Kings ix. f.). Athaliah destroys all the males belonging to the royal family in Judah (xi. 1). Menahem per-

petrates atrocities on the party of Shallum (xv. 16).

It must of course be remembered that atrocities were the regular accompaniment of warfare, especially after the capture of cities. In the prophetic trance Elisha sees, and weeps as he sees, the evil that Hazael will do to Israel (viii. 12). The prophets take it for granted that these horrors will be perpetrated by heathen conquerors as a matter of course. The oracles on the foreign nations in the Book of Amos refer to them as having been recently perpetrated (i. 3–ii. 3). Hosea predicts them for Samaria (xiii. 16). Nahum describes them as having happened to No-Amon (iii. 8–10) and implies that they are soon to befall Nineveh. A prophet in the Exile enumerates the horrors which the Medes will inflict upon Babylon (Isa. xiii. 15–18). In Ps. cxxxvii. 8 f. we read the famous words :

" O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed ;
Happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee
As thou hast served us.
Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones
Against the stones."

We may infer from this that so Jerusalem had suffered when captured by the Baby-

lonians; and perhaps the Psalmist himself had seen his own dear children thus brained or broken upon the rocks. And if we turn to other sources of information than the Bible—whether the narratives of historians or the accounts of their exploits by the victors themselves—we find ample corroboration of these descriptions. Judged by the practice of the time, the Hebrews probably deserve to be praised for moderation rather than blamed for excess; and the reputation which the servants of Benhadad attribute to the kings of Israel, that they are merciful kings (1 Kings xx. 31), was amply justified by the generosity with which he was treated by Ahab (32–34).

And we may set against much that is marred by ferocity and vindictiveness passages of another kind. When Elisha had led the Syrians into Samaria, who had been sent by the king to capture him, the king of Israel asked him eagerly, "My father, shall I smite them? shall I smite them?" But the prophet answered, "Thou shalt not smite them: wouldst thou smite those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword and with thy bow? set bread and water before them, that they may eat and

drink, and go to their master." So the king fed them bountifully and dismissed them in safety. The narrative closes significantly with the words, " " And the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel " (2 Kings vi. 19–23). The story is suggestive, not only for the magnanimity of the treatment and its effect on the Syrians, but because Elisha takes it for granted that the king of Israel would not put prisoners of war to the sword.

Still more striking was the treatment of Benhadad by Ahab, to which allusion has just been made. The Syrian king invaded Israel with an overwhelming force, but was decisively defeated and feared for his life (1 Kings xx. 26–30). His servants, clad in sackcloth and with ropes on their heads, presented their master's petition that his life might be spared. Ahab replied, " Is he yet alive ? he is my brother " (31 f.). And when the captive king is brought to Ahab he invites him into his chariot, and lets him go, on the agreement to restore the cities which had been taken from Omri and grant him trading facilities in Damascus (33 f.). It is not remarkable, considering the formidable character of his enemy, his former arrogance

towards Ahab, and the rapacity of his demand (1–10), that Ahab was upbraided by a prophet for the foolish generosity he had shown to a man whom Yahweh had "devoted to destruction" (1 Kings xx. 38–43).

Possibly the law of Deut. xx. 10–15 might be quoted in this connexion. It applies only to foreign cities, since those that are in Israel's inheritance are to be utterly destroyed. The law lays down that if a city surrenders without resistance the people are to be spared but forced labour is to be exacted from them. If, however, it resists, the males are to be put to the sword, while the women and the little ones, together with the cattle and the spoil, are to be taken for their own use by the victors. But one of the most remarkable passages is to be found in the oracle on Edom in Jer. xlix. Here, as in so many other places, the destruction of Edom is announced; but we have these remarkable words: "Leave thy fatherless children: I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me" (ver. 11). "The Divine judgment destroys the warriors of Edom, but it does not root out women and children; they are indeed made widows and orphans, but Yahweh will pity their

forlorn condition and tenderly comfort and preserve them" (*Century Bible: Jeremiah* vol. ii. p. 245).

But in spite of her militarism, Israel cherished ideals of peace, though often of a peace enjoyed after her enemies had been made to lick the dust. A time was to come when the bow, the sword and the battle would be broken out of the land (Hos. ii. 18), when Yahweh would make wars to cease to earth's remotest bounds, when He would break the bow and snap the spear and burn the chariots in the fire (Ps. xlvi. 9). In the famous passage, of uncertain date and authorship, which occurs in Isa. ii. 2–4 and Mic. iv. 1–3, the prophet predicts how when Zion is exalted above all other mountains, the nations will flow into it. They will stream thither that Yahweh may teach them His ways so that they may walk in His paths. He will arbitrate between them and settle their disputes so that they will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruninghooks, and nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Another prophet describes the Messiah as a victorious king, one of the pious who, after his enemies

have been defeated, will come riding, not on the battle-horse, but on the ass. Horse and chariot will be destroyed, and the weapons of war; and he will utter decisions to the nations which will maintain peace between them (Zech. ix. 9 f.). So in the famous vision of the four beasts and the Son of man in Dan. vii. the same ideal is expressed. For the four beasts represent the brutal and bestial empires which were founded on force, on cruelty, and on bloodshed; and these are to lose their dominion, which will pass not to another beast but to a man. And just as the beasts stand for empires, so the Son of man represents an Empire. The contrast indicates that it will be a humane and not a brutal empire, it will be a kingdom of "the saints of the Most High," that is the people of Israel.

THE Hebrews are often spoken of as the chosen people. And they were themselves, especially in the later period, very conscious of their Divine election. The phrase "no such thing ought to be done in Israel" (2 Sam. xiii. 12) expresses the popular feeling that they themselves applied a standard to the conduct of Israel which they did not apply to the conduct of the heathen. This conscious superiority might find unseemly expression; but it was rooted in a conviction, which Jews and Christians alike believe to be true. Israel *was* a chosen people—the people through whom God made that unique revelation of Himself which culminated in Christianity. But the national election was peculiarly liable to misinterpretation; and it was all too easy for it to be explained as due to the favouritism of their God rather than to His universal purpose of blessing for mankind. And it was an almost irresistible temptation to infer that

their God would view with indulgence the shortcomings of His favourite people, support them, right or wrong, against their enemies, and never, even though He might chastise them, contemplate their extinction.

It must be remembered that the religion of Israel was a covenant religion. In other words, a covenant between Yahweh and Israel lay at the root of the relation between them. With other nations and their gods it was not so. They were conceived to belong to each other in the very nature of things. Chemosh was the god of Moab, not because he and Moab had freely chosen each other, but because this connexion between them was supposed to be as natural and inevitable as the relationship which a man sustains to his family, his tribe, or his country. But with Israel it was otherwise. The relation was one not of necessity, but of choice. Yahweh might have freely chosen another people (Amos iii. 2, ix. 7), but He graciously selected Israel. This comes out with great distinctness when the Covenant is to be instituted. Yahweh instructs Moses to say to Israel: "Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself.

Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me from among all peoples: for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation" (Exod. xix. 4–6). As here expressed, the significance of the choice rests on the fact that it was in no way limited, but ranged freely over all the nations. The whole earth belonged to Yahweh; it is a clearly defined monotheism which gives its fullest meaning to Yahweh's selection of Israel to be His own peculiar people. It is a kingdom of priests, by which it is probably meant that it is a community under the sovereignty of God and consisting entirely of priests who have the right to approach God for the rest of mankind (cf. Isa. lxi. 6). It has so lofty a prerogative in virtue of the fact that it is a holy nation, set apart for Yahweh, and bound, by obligation to Him, to keep itself separate from heathen uncleanness and fulfil His law.

It is obvious that this consciousness of Divine election gave Israel a deeper sense of its unique position among the nations of the world, after it was clearly realised that

the God of Israel was the only God. But even in the earlier period, when the Hebrews recognised the real existence of the gods of other peoples, though they felt that Yahweh claimed the sole allegiance of His people, the national conviction that Israel was differentiated from other nations by the choice of Yahweh was firmly held. For they were well aware that their religion had its origin in a great historical event. It was not something to be simply taken for granted, something inevitable in the order under which they lived. They could not forget that they had been delivered from bondage in Egypt and that the God of Sinai, amid the terrible convulsions of nature, had manifested Himself to them and chosen them to be His own. No other people known to them had had an experience like this, in which a new national religion had come into existence based on the free choice of a deity and the free response of a nation (Deut. iv. 32–35).

Yet in the early period the sense of religious and moral superiority seems to have been far less developed than it subsequently became. It was long before the Hebrews were in effective possession of Palestine.

They were inferior in culture and the arts of life to the Canaanites, they freely intermarried with them, they absorbed a considerable proportion of them, they learnt from them the worship of the Baalim on whose favour it was thought abundant harvest and fruit depended. But as they learnt from their great prophets that Yahweh was the only God, while the gods of the heathen were mere nonentities, when by calamity after calamity the religion lost its less worthy adherents, and the remnant was disengaged from the mass, the sense of contrast between the heathen and the worshippers of the one true God grew more and more acute. Nor was it without its justification. The gulf between Israel's religion and that of the other nations was in truth very wide. Its elevated conception of God—His spirituality, His holiness, His omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence, His inflexible righteousness, His gracious love—stood in shining contrast to the polytheism of the Gentiles with its gross idolatry, its unclean and capricious deities, its rank mythologies. Moreover in Israel religion and morality were combined in an unparalleled degree. The life of the Gentiles

seemed to the pious Jew stained by foul abominations. And this religious and moral loathing was intensified by social and political conditions. From the eighth century onwards Israel rarely enjoyed national independence; and from its political servitude the national self-respect took refuge in its religious and moral superiority. The contempt and dislike which its religious eccentricities excited were heightened by the inflexible obstinacy with which it adhered to what seemed its ridiculous scruples. The later literature is therefore more strongly characterised than the earlier by its bitter hostility towards the Gentiles. Yet against this must be set passages of a quite contrary tendency in which the religion of Israel almost reaches its high-water mark. The consciousness of religious difference is much more acute in the post-exilic community than in Israel under the monarchy.

This, of course, does not mean that the early Hebrews detached their attitude to their enemies from their religion, treating it simply as a secular concern. On the contrary they thought of their God as fully engaged on the side of His people, leading them to victory and beating down their

enemies before them. But in this they were just like other nations, as we may see from the Moabite Stone or the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. It was not the feeling, however, that their religion was intrinsically so superior to that of other nations which dominated their attitude towards them. Their wars or alliances had just the usual commonplace motives and objects.

Prophecies on foreign nations are to be found in the pre-exilic prophets, though in the sections devoted to these prophecies in the former part of Isaiah and in the Book of Jeremiah a good deal of later matter is undoubtedly incorporated. So far as these are objective predictions of calamity, we are not specially concerned with them. It is only when the prophet's own feelings are enlisted or he is the spokesman of his people that we need to take note of them.

In an examination of brotherhood in the Old Testament special interest may naturally be felt in prophecies on Israel's kinsfolk—in particular Edom, Moab, and Ammon. There are oracles on Moab of uncertain date in Isaiah (xv. f.) and Jeremiah (xlviii.). That in Isaiah is remarkable for its sympathetic tone. A good deal of it is incor-

porated in the oracle in Jeremiah, apparently by the editor, who expanded a much briefer Jeremianic nucleus. But, in addition to the sympathetic expressions, we have others of a different kind. Moab had clapped his hands in derision of Israel, and he shall himself become an object of mockery (xlviii. 26 f.). He shall be destroyed because he has magnified himself against Yahweh (42). And a curse, famous as Hildebrand's favourite quotation, is uttered on those who are slack to execute judgment: "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood" (10). Similarly in the remarkable collection Isaiah xxiv–xxvii Moab is threatened with humiliating overthrow. Yahweh will trample him under foot and frustrate all his endeavours to save himself from ruin (xxv. 10 f.).

The original oracle on Ammon by Jeremiah reproaches the Ammonites for annexing the territory of Gad and predicts the destruction of its cities (xlix. 1). Ezekiel denounces both Ammon (xxv. 3–7 and Moab (8–11) for their malicious exultation over the downfall of Judah. Ammon had clapped his hands, stamped with his feet, and rejoiced

with all the despite of his soul against the land of Israel. And in Zephaniah we have a prophecy predicting that Moab "shall be as Sodom, and the children of Ammon as Gomorrah, a possession of nettles, and saltpits, and a perpetual desolation" (ii. 9).

The tie of blood between Israel and Edom was peculiarly close, since Esau and Jacob were twin brothers. With all the more intimate bitterness was the hatred between the two felt and expressed. The earlier narrative of Genesis leaves us with a sympathetic feeling towards Edom; but the wrongs inflicted by Israel (2 Sam. viii. 13 f., 1 Kings xi. 15 f., 2 Kings xiv. 7) had embittered the feelings of the brother people, who found their opportunity when Judah's downfall was at hand. The Psalmist prays that God will remember their conduct against them when they urged the Babylonians to raze Jerusalem to its foundations (Ps. cxxxvii. 7). And in the Lamentations mention is made of Edom's exultation and retribution is foretold (iv. 21 f.). Ezekiel predicts vengeance on Edom along with Ammon and Moab for their attitude at this time (xxv. 12–14). But later Edom is specially singled out for the most gruesome

imprecations. Malachi represents Yahweh as saying, "I loved Jacob; but Esau I hated" (i. 2–4). The brief Book of Obadiah is entirely devoted to the judgment on Edom. A prophecy which stands in somewhat intricate literary connexion with this is to be found in Jeremiah (xlix. 7–22). In the late oracle, Isaiah xxxiv, Yahweh takes sides with His people against Edom. "It is the day of the Lord's vengeance, the year of recompense in the controversy of Zion." The writer gives a lurid description of the destruction of all its inhabitants, the utter desolation of the land and its eternal abandonment to wild beasts and uncanny monsters. A briefer, but equally ferocious utterance in Isaiah lxiii. 1–6 depicts Yahweh as the warrior returning from Edom, His garments all crimsoned with the blood of those whom He had trampled in His winepress.

While the bitter wrongs, which the Jews suffered from their heathen oppressors, aroused in the breast of many a feeling of vindictive resentment; and the sense of the truth, the spirituality, and the moral elevation of their religion filled them with contempt for the follies of idolatry and disgust at the abominations of the Gentiles;

there were those who were equally sensitive to the wrongs of Israel, equally sure of the peerless quality of their religion, who yet looked forward to its acceptance by the heathen.

We do not know certainly when this hope found its first expression. The famous promise to Abraham (Gen. xii. 3, cf. xviii. 18, xxii. 18). "In thee shall all nations of the earth be blessed" should rather be translated, "In thee shall all nations of the earth bless themselves," the verb being a reflexive rather than a passive. The point is that Abraham will be so supreme a type of felicity that all nations will use his name in invocations of blessedness upon themselves, wishing that they may be as fortunate as Abraham. The passage in Isa. xix. 23–25 predicting the union of Egypt and Assyria in worship, and the combination of Israel with them, is probably some centuries later than Isaiah's time. The same judgment is passed by many scholars on Jer. xvi. 19 f., which predicts that the nations will come from the ends of the earth confessing the falsity and unprofitableness of their idolatry. Yet good critics favour the authenticity of this passage. This is true also of Jer. xii. 15 f., where the enemies of Israel will, after

punishment, be restored to their land and if they turn to Yahweh will be built up in the midst of His people. In a probably late Psalm the poet says with wonderful liberality, "I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon as them that know me: Behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia; this one was born there."

But the anticipation that the Gentiles will accept the true religion comes to its clearest expression in the Servant passages, now included in the work of the Second Isaiah (Isa. xl.–lv.). The true interpretation of the figure of the Servant is one of the most controverted problems in Old Testament theology. I have discussed the question more fully elsewhere (*The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*), and must here simply reaffirm my view that the Servant is to be identified with Israel, and Israel in the strict sense of the term, the nation which has died in the exile, which is to be raised again at the restoration, and which has for its mission to suffer for the sins of the heathen and to proclaim the true religion to the world.

The belief that Yahweh had chosen Israel out of all the nations to be His people was

a fundamental element in Hebrew religion. The people had plumed themselves on the Divine choice, and presumed on the indulgence their God must show to His favourites. The Day of Yahweh was soon to dawn when He would crush their foes and establish His people in triumphant security. Amos accepts the election of Israel, but draws from it the opposite inference. Just because the righteous God cannot tolerate an unrighteous people, the end of the unrepentant nation is near: "You only have I known of all the nations of the earth, therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities" (iii. 1). The Second Isaiah thinks of Israel as Yahweh's chosen, and the description of the servile subservience of the nations to it has its unpleasant features.

But the Servant passages (Isa. xlii. 1–4, xlix. 1–6, l. 4–9, lii. 13–liii. 12) rise to a great height. It is true that even here the sense of Israel's moral and spiritual supremacy is very marked. But the author makes the great advance of recognising that the election of Israel is not simply an end in itself. Israel has been chosen to reveal the true God to the heathen world. In Wellhausen's famous adaptation of the con-

fession of Islam, "there is no God but Yahweh, and Israel is His prophet." Bitter opposition has been encountered, severe persecution borne, in the loyal fulfilment of its task. Strong in the support of God, the Servant has fulfilled his mission. Suffering and death have been his portion and now he lies in his dishonoured tomb. But resurrection awaits him and a glorious destiny. Then the nations who had looked scornfully on his puny beginnings, and saw in his sufferings and death the Divine estimate of his exceptional sinfulness, will be startled at the sudden and amazing change in his fortunes. They will confess their misjudgment and, recognising that Israel, the innocent and loyal Servant of God, has suffered while they the guilty idolaters have escaped, will interpret the afflictions and death of the Servant as vicarious sufferings. And so, in deep contrition, they will turn to the only true God. Indeed, although the exaltation of the Servant lies in the future, the poet already discerns in the heathen world an expectancy of a higher revelation: "For his teaching the far lands do wait" (Isa. xlii. 4).

But when Israel rose from the death of

exile it failed to undertake the mission to which the prophet had summoned it. The gulf which separated it from the heathen world had become wider and deeper. The community had become more self-conscious and self-contained. It shrank from the defiling touch of Paganism. It refused to compromise its racial purity by permitting intermarriage with foreigners. It is possible that the story of Ruth embodies a protest against this exclusiveness. Here we have the story of a Moabite woman, twice united to a Hebrew husband, a woman who for love of Naomi, the mother of her first husband, leaves her own for a foreign land. And this wonderful sacrifice of home and family, of country and religion, is rewarded by her marriage to Boaz, a marriage so blest of God that from it sprang David and all the line of Judah's kings. If this was in the mind of the writer, it was an effective retort to the rigid prohibition of foreign marriages by Ezra and Nehemiah and the dissolution of those already made. It was all the more striking that Ruth was a daughter of Moab, because Moab and Ammon were specially singled out in Deuteronomy (xxiii. 3–5) as for ever excluded from the assembly of

the Lord; and this law was the basis of the action by which the Jews in the time of Nehemiah "separated from Israel all the mixed multitude" (Neh. xiii. 1–3).

A far more notable protest, however, is to be found in the Book of Jonah. Jonah, who represents Israel, is charged with a mission to Nineveh announcing its approaching destruction. He evades his task and takes ship to Tarshish. But God exposes the vessel to destruction through the fury of a storm; and the sailors discover, by casting lots, the culprit who has brought them into such deadly peril. Only reluctantly and after straining every nerve to reach the land, do they accept the prophet's counsel and cast him into the deep. Then in calm waters they resume their journey and, heathen though they are, offer sacrifices to the prophet's God when they come safely to land. Meanwhile Jonah has been swallowed by a great fish, and after prayer to God he is disgorged on dry land. Once more bidden to go to Nineveh, he knows it is useless to refuse the commission. The Ninevites are brought to prompt repentance and the threatened penalty is averted. Jonah is very angry that Nineveh should be spared.

Not because his prediction had been falsified, for it was understood that prophecy was conditional and his preaching had been crowned with complete success. But what he had dreaded all along had come to pass. For him Nineveh was an object of execration and of hate. No tidings could have been more congenial to him than the tidings of its destruction. But he had refused to carry the warning in the first instance because he knew God too well. "I pray thee, O Lord, was not this my saying, when I was yet in my country? Therefore I hasted to flee unto Tarshish: for I knew that thou art a gracious God, and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy, and repentest thee of the evil."

Yet, not surrendering hope that the city might still be destroyed, he leaves it and takes up his abode where he can keep it in sight until its fate is determined. Rejoicing in the shadow of a gourd, which God has caused to spring up for him, he is plunged into deeper distress by the tropical sun and the sultry East wind when God deprives him of its grateful shade. Then to his petulant prayer for death—his exasperation at his own discomfort standing

in odious contrast to the savage fanaticism which gloated over the destruction of vast multitudes—God makes effective reply. Jonah regrets the loss of the gourd, in whose origin and growth he has had no part, which had but for a single day come into his life. "And should not I have pity on Nineveh, that great city: wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?" If an inanimate plant with life so frail and fleeting had meant something to the self-centred egoist, what must so vast, so ancient a city mean to God, whose multitudes were not thought of by Him simply in the mass, but for whom each personality was sharply individualised and loved for his own sake?

So this tremendous appeal to Israel reaches its noble climax. The heathen shine by contrast with the pitiful narrowness, the indiscriminate ruthlessness of the prophet who represents the true religion. The writer summons his countrymen to accept the mission which the Second Isaiah had imposed upon them. He bids them carry the true religion to the heathen, he is assured that they will receive it with glad obedience.

XIII *The New Testament*

It will not, I hope, seem to lie beyond the scope of my subject if I refer very briefly to the attitude of the New Testament on some of the subjects which have been engaging our attention. For, apart from the intrinsic value of the Christian contribution, its contrast serves to define more sharply the distinctive teaching of the Hebrew Scriptures.

We are struck at the outset by the fact that Jesus issued no social or economic programmes, neither did His apostles. Are we then to say that in this respect the New Testament is at a disadvantage as compared with the Old? Not at all, for there were drawbacks connected with the social teaching of the prophets, the lawgivers, and the sages of Israel. The very fact that their teaching was so relevant to the conditions of their time, while it gave it a vividness and completeness it could not otherwise have possessed, yet limited its value for

other times. Much of it has been far from intelligible, to some extent it has been misleading. The writers had also to do with a more limited area; they spoke to a single people, whose national existence had been created by its religion, and for which religion and politics were intimately and inseparably associated.

Christianity was a Gospel for mankind, for peoples with social and political conditions of the utmost diversity. It would have been fatally hampered if it had included a definite social and economic scheme. We must not forget that, as the world changes, programmes quickly become obsolete. Moreover, the prophets and the legislators addressed the nation, while Christianity was concerned with the individual, at any rate in the first instance. It is further to be remembered that the apostles expected the Second Coming of Christ in the near future, and in the nature of things did not contemplate a social revolution, since they believed that God was about to make all things new.

There was much to turn the activities of Jesus into social and political channels. His nation was ground beneath the iron

heel of Rome. He knew Himself to be the Messiah, and the popular Messianic beliefs assigned to the Messiah the rôle of a great conqueror or deliverer. The wrongs of the poor and the violation of justice called alike for redress. It is part of the greatness of Jesus that He steadily refused to leave, even for these tempting bypaths, the high road of His mission. But while He enunciated no detailed schemes of reform, He set His Gospel in the world as leaven. The principles He proclaimed were more penetrating and far-reaching than any detailed applications could have been, and more universal in their scope. They worked less rapidly, but far more thoroughly to their end. His doctrine of the Kingdom had necessarily a social side. But the Kingdom was not to Him what it was to His contemporaries. Primarily it was the reign of God in the individual heart, which necessarily widened to God's reign in Society, and all the relations of human life.

Turning now to points of detail, I touch first on the relation of Jesus to wealth. He did not attack the institution of private property; nor did He regard poverty as in itself a blessing. He recognised the exist-

ence of physical needs which our Heavenly Father will supply; but He forbade anxiety, because it is incompatible with the childlike trust which we ought to repose in God. Yet He looked at wealth as constituting a serious peril to the spiritual life. From the human point of view it was impossible for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. But He also taught that a man might use even the unrighteous mammon so as to advance his spiritual interests. The demand He made on the rich young ruler was quite exceptional, and conditioned by the special circumstances of the case. Probably He would have regarded with approval one who was possessed of wealth and used it as a faithful steward. His command, "Give to him that asketh thee," did not bear on His lips the meaning it would bear had it been uttered in our conditions. It referred to the most elementary needs of life in a country where, while poverty was abundant, there was no organised system of poor relief.

His principles found further application and development in the circumstances of the primitive Church. It is frequently thought that the early Christians at Jerusalem were communists; but in spite of

certain expressions in the narrative which favour such an interpretation, this view must be set aside. Barnabas is singled out for special praise because he sold his property and gave the money to the apostles. Mary, the mother of Mark, still possessed her house in Jerusalem. Peter expressly told Ananias that the property was his own before he sold it, and that even after he had sold it the money was in his own power. There was no compulsion except the compulsion of love, which led the members of the Church to regard their property as held for the common good. They were like a family, and felt it a duty to see that none suffered want.

Another point of importance is the relation between Christianity and labour. The Jews were honourably distinguished by the importance they attached to manual labour. Jesus and several of His apostles, including Paul, worked with their hands. It is most significant that labour was invested with such dignity by Christianity. Paul enjoins that he who stole should steal no more, but labour that he may have something to give to him who needs it.

In the Graeco-Roman world labour was

largely left to slaves. The problem of slavery was one of the most urgent and menacing that confronted the early Church. Among slaves the Gospel very quickly made its way; and slaves constituted a very large proportion of the population of the Empire. The new religion had lodged within it the principle of emancipation. The question was, Would this principle prove a leaven or an explosive in society? Would men who had found their freedom in Christ be content to forgo it in the world? To this danger Paul was keenly alive. It was clear as sunlight that in Christ Jesus there could be no distinction between bond and free. But greater interests even than freedom were at stake. Had he attempted prematurely the work of emancipation, so noble an error might have been fatal to the Gospel itself, and, after drenching the Empire in blood, would have left the slaves where it found them. So he urges the slaves, for Christ's sake, to be industrious and obedient. He even sends Onesimus back to Philemon, and offers to make good what he may have lost through him. In one place (1 Cor. vii. 21), according to the view of many scholars, he bids the slave use his servile condition

rather than change it for freedom. This would harmonise with his principle that a man should abide in the position to which he had been called by God (20). But the view that Paul counsels the Christian slave to avail himself of the opportunity of freedom seems to be the more probable.

Again, there is the problem of Christianity and the State. Jesus Himself recognised the State, as He recognised all constituted authority, even that of priests and scribes, in its own domain. He paid the Temple tax and commanded to give tribute to Caesar. Yet He finds this defect in earthly rulers, that they rely on force, whereas true greatness consists in service. His own kingdom, He asserted, was not of this world The apostles took up the same attitude here as on slavery, only in a stronger form. The powers that be are ordained of God, and as such must receive a loyal obedience. Complicity in political movements would have diverted Christianity from its true work at a fatal loss. Paul's idea was to leaven the empire with the Gospel, and leave reform to follow; though he probably anticipated no great social change before the Second Coming.

But a vision even greater hovered before

his mind. Jesus had emphasised the absolute worth of each human soul. And before Paul rose the great thought of humanity, hitherto almost ignored. In Christianity are cancelled not only distinctions of sex and social status, but those of race, culture, and civilisation, which had rent mankind into mutually hostile and contemptuous camps. There can be neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian nor Scythian. But it cancels a deeper and darker passion still—religious hate. There can be neither circumcision nor uncircumcision. And thus his love ranged far beyond the limits set to his actual work, wide though those limits were. He counted himself a debtor to Greeks and barbarians, for he owed all to Christ, and therefore to the race that was one with Him. And when he contemplated this humanity as it stood in Christ, from the sordid and unlovely actual there was disengaged the fair ideal of humanity as it lived in the thought and will of God. Thus the passion to raise the actual to the ideal, to help and redeem the race, filled his soul.

But the enthusiasm of humanity was for him not a mere philanthropy, as it never can be for those who have once truly understood

it. Philanthropy it must be. But it is not a mere amelioration of social conditions; it does not merely staunch our wounds and charm away our pain. For when pain has gone and poverty is no more, such a Gospel would have spent its strength and yet touched nothing of the deepest tragedy, bridged in no whit the great gulf fixed between us and God. The true enthusiasm for humanity is the passion which brings to man's consciousness his deepest needs and seeks to satisfy them, and does not content him by drugging him into forgetfulness of God and his deepest self.

Such an enthusiasm Christianity gives us. It is a great tide of redemptive energy which renews our exhausted vigour, a fountain of living water, cleansing even our most secret thoughts. Starting thus from the centre, from the individual human soul, this enthusiasm recreates, through slow and insensible transformation, our social and national life. Thus we see it raising our thought of our race, elevating woman and emancipating the slave, teaching us a new chivalry to the weak, a new compassion for the degraded and oppressed. It brings the warmth of a new love to the outcast

and despised, and fills them with a hope hitherto unknown. It softens the harshness of law, teaches a tenderness to pain, abolishes torture, raises the standard of comfort, and fills us with a hatred of cruelty and wrong.

It will be said that the civilisation of Christendom has corresponded very imperfectly to this ideal. But it would be unjust to lay the blame on Christianity itself. For Christianity has come into a world in which humanity has had a very long history and it has been at work in it for less than two thousand years. Our civilisation is still fundamentally pagan and its superficial inoculation with Christianity has largely vaccinated it against a deeper contagion. The Church has too often been controlled not only by secular powers whose methods and principles were in glaring contrast to Christian ideals, but by ecclesiastics who have yielded to the third temptation which Jesus rejected in the wilderness. Three things are necessary for us if Christianity is to be fairly tried, and they are all very difficult. The first is rightly to understand the religious and the ethical principles of Jesus; the second is to understand our own conditions and the problems they present; the third is

to make an unflinching application of the principles of Jesus to the conditions in which we live. And since the Fatherhood of God was fundamental in the religion of Jesus, a movement which emphasises what is the immediate corollary of it, the Brotherhood of Man, must, so long as it never forgets the truth about God on which it is based, command the warm sympathy of all followers of Jesus.

Index

Aaron, 43, 45 f., 121
Abel, 41
Abel (city), 46
Abimelech, 43
Abiram, 121
Abraham, 42, 44, 47, 111 f., 120, 127, 154
Absalom, 44, 51 f., 123
Achan, 134
Achish, 113
Administration of justice, 28, 30 f., 71, 80 f., 92–105, 112, 164
Adonibezek, 104
Adonijah, 44, 52
Agag, 134
Agriculture, 22–26
Ahab, 94, 116, 137, 139–141
Ahasuerus, 46
Ahaz, 31, 124
Ahimelech, 112
Ai, 134 f.
Alexander the Great, 39
Altar, 100
Amalek, 128, 134
Amaziah, 123
Ammon, 137, 150–152, 158
Amnon, 44, 52
Amorites, 128, 134 f.
Amos, 28, 36, 72, 77, 89, 94 f., 117 f., 156
Amos, Book of, 89, 138
Ananias, 166
Angel of Yahweh, 128
Angels, 82, 99
Animals, 86 f., 89, 101 f., 133 f.
Antiochus Epiphanes, 39
Apocalyptic, 40
Apostles, The, 162 f., 166, 168
Arrogance, 106 f., 130, 140
Assyria, Assyrians, 15, 28, 35 f. 38 f., 106, 123 f., 130 f., 154
Athaliah, 46, 137
Atrocities, 25, 89, 99, 104, 136–139
Avenger of blood, 100

Baalim, The, 24–26, 148
Baasha, 137
Babylon, 15, 36–38, 107, 131 f., 138, 155
Babylonia, Babylonians, 11, 36–38, 138, 152
Ban, 21, 133–136, 141.
Barnabas, 166
Bastinado, 102 f.
Bathsheba, 44
Beasts, The four 143
Benhadad, 139–141
Benjamin, 45, 122
Bilhah, 121
Blasphemy, 94, 101
Blind, The, 87 f.
Boaz, 158
Book of the Covenant, 55, 57 f., 71, 75, 83, 86, 89, 92, 110
Book of the Wars of Yahweh, 127
Bribery, 30, 92 f., 95–99
Burning alive, 103 f.

Cæsar, 168
Cain, 41
Canaan (*see* Palestine)
Canaanites, 22–24, 63, 120, 128 f., 134–136, 148
Capital, 76
Centralisation of the sanctuary, 79, 100
Chariots, 136, 140, 142 f.
Cheating, 72, 118 f.
Chemosh, 145
Christ, 13 (*see* Jesus)
Christianity, 27, 144, 163, 166–172
City of refuge, 100
Civil war, 120, 137 f.
Civilisation, 14–17, 25, 33, 62, 169, 171
Class distinctions, 18, 29 f., 33 f., 59, 169
Collar, The, 103
Commerce, 16, 22, 27, 118 f., 140
Communism, 165 f.
Corporal punishment, 54 f., 57 f., 61, 102 f.
Covenant, 21, 112, 145 f.
Creditor, 75–78, 81 f.
Croesus, 37
Cruelty, 28, 34 f., 82, 104, 171
Culpable negligence, 101 f.
Curse, 50 f., 87 f., 93, 109 f., 117, 151
Cyrus, 37 f., 132

Damascus, 28, 140
Dan, 121
Daniel, Book of, 39, 143
Danites, 116
Dathan, 121
David, 27 f., 44, 48, 52, 66, 105, 111–113, 116, 122–124, 129, 136 f., 158
Day of Atonement, 101
Day of Yahweh, 106, 156
Deaf, The, 87 f.
Death penalty, 50, 58, 94, 100–105
Deborah, 46, 129
Deborah, Song of, 122, 129
Debt, debtor, 59, 61, 72, 81
Decalogue, 88 f., 116
Deuteronomic Law Book, 36
Deuteronomy, 49 f., 56–58, 63, 71, 75, 77–80, 83 f., 86–90, 93, 100–103, 117, 119, 134, 158
Divorce, 48 f.
Doeg, 104

Ecclesiastes, author of, 98
„ Book of, 40
Edom, 137, 141, 150, 152 f.
Egypt, Egyptians, 11, 15, 20, 31, 39, 45, 57 f., 83, 89, 120, 128, 145, 147, 154 f.
Eli, 52
Eliab, 43 f.
Eliphaz, 67 f., 78, 81, 88
Elisha, 80, 130, 137 f., 140
Elkanah, 49
Enthusiasm of humanity, 169 f.
Ephraim, 122, 124, 126
Esau, 42, 44, 51, 111–113, 120, 152 f.
Esther, 46
Ethiopia, 155
Execution, Modes of, 103 f.
Exile, The, 36 f., 107, 131 f., 138, 155, 157 f.
Exodus, The, 11, 21, 128
Ezekiel, 37, 72, 75, 81, 97 f., 114, 118, 125, 131 f., 151 f.
Ezra, 38 f., 48, 158
„ Reformation of, 38 f.

False witness, 30, 92–94, 99, 112, 114, 116
Family, The, 41–53
Fatherhood of God, 55, 172
Feast of firstfruits, 80
„ of tabernacles, 80
„ of weeks, 80

Forced labour, 141
Freedom, 167 f.
Friendship, 66–69, 74
Fugitive slave, 58, 63

Gad, 151
Gentile, 57, 148 f., 155
Gibeon, 135
Gideon, 43, 104, 122, 129
Gilead, 43
Gog, 132
Gospel, The, 163 f., 167 f.
Government, The, 32, 168
Greece, 15
Greeks, 169

Habakkuk, 40
Hadadezer, 136
Hagar, 41 f.
Haggai, 38, 132
Ham, 44, 51
Hammurabi, Code of, 63
Hanging, 103 f.
Hannah, 48 f.
Hazael, 138
Hebrews, 10 f., 20–22, 24, 55, 57, 59–62, 89, 103 f., 133–136, 139, 144, 147, 149, etc. (*see* Israel)
Hildebrand, 151
Hired servant, 57, 61, 63–65
Hittites, 134
Hivites, 135
Homicide, Justifiable, 102
Horses, 87, 136, 143
Hosea, 26, 36, 90, 113, 117, 138
Housebreaker, 102
Huldah, 46
Humanitarianism, 21, 35, 56–58, 63, 71–73, 75–91
Humility, 107
Husband and wife, 46–50

Idolatry, 101, 148, 153 f., 157
Immanuel, 124
Imprisonment, 103
Inheritance, 42–44, 48–51
Inscriptions, The, 150
Interest, 30, 59, 71, 74–77
International relationships, 14–16, 28, 31, 150
Isaac, 41 f., 47, 51, 112, 120
Isaiah, 31, 36, 72, 81, 95–97, 106 f., 117, 123, 130 f.
Isaiah, Book of, 38, 40, 150 f., 153 f.
Ishbaal, 104, 122 f.
Ishmael, 41 f., 48, 120
Ishmaelites, 45
Israel, Israelites, 10, 12, 15, 20, 22 f., 28–30, 89, 99, 120, 135, 144–147, 149, 152, 154–159, 161, etc. (*see* Hebrews)
Israel and other peoples, 144–161
Israel, Election of, 144–147, 155 f.
Israel, national unity of, 20–22, 27 f.
Israel, religion of, 21–26, 30–40, 61, 145, 147–150, 153–156

Jabin, 136
Jacob, 42–45, 47, 49, 51, 111–113, 120, 128, 152 f.
Jacob, sons of, 43, 45, 51, 111 f., 121
Japhet, 44
Jehoiachin, 131
Jehoiakim, 97
Jehu, 25, 123, 137
Jephthah, 43, 122
Jeremiah, 36, 40, 72, 81, 97, 109, 113, 118, 124 f., 131, 150 f., 153 f.
Jericho, 128, 134 f.
Jeroboam II, 28 f., 35, 70, 137
Jerusalem, 35, 38, 81, 95–99, 107, 123, 138, 153, 165 f.
Jerusalem, destruction of, 40, 99, 132, 152
Jerusalem, siege of, 60, 131

Jesse, 43
Jesus, 77, 84, 162–169, 171 f.
Jezebel, 46, 94, 116, 137
Jezreel, 94
Jews, 36, 38 f., 61, 75 f., 132, 144, 149
Joab, 46, 52
Joash, 28 f., 70, 123, 130
Job, 40, 64, 67 f., 73, 78, 81 f., 88, 98, 110, 117
Job, Book of, 40, 81 f.
Job, friends of, 67 f.
Jonadab, 25
Jonah, 159–161
Jonah, Book of, 87, 159, 161
Jonathan, 66, 112
Jordan, 22, 114
Joseph, 43, 45, 51, 111 f., 121 f., 125
Joshua, 128, 135 f.
Joshua, Book of, 21 f., 135
Josiah, 97
Josiah, Reformation of, 36
Jotham, son of Gideon, 43
Judah (kingdom), 28, 30 f., 35 f., 46, 96, 117, 123–126, 131 f., 137, 151 f., 158
Judah (son of Jacob), 45, 103, 122
Judah (tribe), 22, 122 f.
Judaism, 37, 39
Judges, The, 70
Judges, Book of, 22

Kidnapping, 58, 101
Kingdom of God, 164 f., 168
Korah, 121

Laban, 42–44, 112
Labour, 166
Land-grabbing, 117
Landmark, 117 f.
Lamentations, Book of, 99, 109, 152
Law, The, 39 f., 54, 56, 61, 63, 70 f., 77, 92–94, 103
Law of Holiness, 57, 71, 87, 93, 110, 116, 119
Leah, 42 f., 48, 112
Lemuel, 98
Levi, 121 f., 128
Levite, 71, 79 f., 84, 86, 93, 121
Lex talionis, 99 f., 102–104
Loan, 71, 74–78
Local sanctuaries, 79, 100
Lot, 44, 111, 127
Loyalty, 168
Luxury, 27 f., 30, 70, 107

Maccabees, 39
Machinery, 16 f.
Magnanimity, 44 f., 66, 139–141
Malachi, 38, 48, 81, 153
Malachi, Book of, 38
Manslayer, 100
Manumission, 55–58, 91, 110 f.
Mark, 166
Marriage, 38, 46–50, 55 f., 90 f. 148, 158
Mary, mother of Mark, 166
Massacre, 43, 46, 104 f., 113
Medes, 138
Menahem, 137
Mercy, 34, 74, 89 f., 139–142, 160
Meroz, 129
Messiah, The, 97, 130 f., 142 f., 164
Micah, 36, 72, 97, 117
Micah the Ephraimite, 116 f.
Midianites, 45
Mill, millstone, 77 f.
Military law, 90 f.
Miriam, 43, 45 f., 128
Moab, 136 f., 145, 150 –152, 158
Moabite Stone, 133, 150
Mommsen, 62
Monarch, monarchy, 27, 32, 72, 94, 96–99, 126, 129, 137, 139 f., 158
Monotheism, 146

Moses, 20 f., 43, 45 f., 121, 135, 145
Murder, 41, 43 f., 46, 51 f., 96–102, 104, 116
Mutilation, 103 f.

Naaman, 60
Naboth, 94, 116
Naomi, 66 f., 158
Nahum, 138
Naphtali, 121
Nathan, 116
Nebuchadnezzar, 114, 131
Negroes, 62 f.
Nehemiah, 38, 48, 61, 75 f., 158 f.
Neighbour, 84, 86, 110
New Covenant, 125
New Testament, 162
Nineveh, Ninevites, 87, 138, 159–161
Noah, 44
No-amon, 138
Nob, 112 f.
Nomads, 23, 25 f.
Northern Kingdom, 27–30, 35 f., 123–126 (*see* Israel)

Oath, 114 f.
Obadiah, Book of, 153
Old Testament, 9, 11, 13, 15, 19, 68, 70, 75, 86, 107 f., 111 f., 116, 127, 162 f.
Omri, 29, 123, 140
Onesimus, 167
Oppression, 28–31, 35, 40, 58, 80 f., 96–99, 108 f., 116–118
Orphan, 71, 73 f., 79–83, 86, 93, 96, 98, 117, 141

Palestine, 20–23, 25 f., 38 f., 120, 126, 128, 147
Parents and children, 46–48, 50–54, 56 f., 75, 100
Paul, 41, 166–169
Peace, 131, 142 f.
Peasantry, 29, 60
Penalties, 99–104
Peninnah, 48
Perjury (*see* False witness)
Persia, 15, 46
Persian Empire, 39, 132
Persian king, 46, 75
Peter, 166
Pharaoh, 20, 45
Philanthropy, 169 f.
Philemon, 167
Philistia, 155
Philistines, 27, 44, 123, 129
Pledge, 64, 71, 77–80, 82, 93
Polygamy, 47 f., 50
Polytheism, 148
Poor, poverty, 29–31, 33 f., 70–79, 86, 92 f., 95–99, 164 f., 170
Potiphar, 45
Pride, 106 f.
Priestly code, 38, 79, 100
Priests, 99, 146–148, 168
Primitive Church, The, 165–167
Prince of Peace, 130
Princes, 96, 98, 117
Prisoners of war, 54, 90 f., 136 f., 139 f.
Private property, 33, 164–166
Profiteers, 76, 118
Prophecy, Prophets, 14, 24, 28, 30–38, 40, 70–72, 85, 89 f., 92, 94–99, 113 f., 116, 130–132, 138 f., 142, 148, 150, 160, 162 f.
Proverbs, Book of, 40, 49, 51 f., 68, 73, 98, 107, 110, 114–119
Psalms, psalmist, 39 f., 72, 75, 82, 85, 87, 92, 99, 107–109, 111, 114 f., 139, 152

Rabbah, 136
Rachel, 42 f., 48 f., 112, 124 f.
Rahab (i.e. Egypt) 155
Rebecca, 42, 51, 112
Rechabites, 25 f.
Red Sea, 45

Redemption, 57 f.
Rehoboam, 27, 123 f.
Renan, 31
Reuben, 45, 51, 121 f.
Revelation a process in history and experience, 9–13
Rich, The, 29–31, 34, 70, 74, 77, 81, 94, 165
Rich young ruler, 165
Robbery, 31, 116 f.
Rome, Roman Empire, 15, 164, 167 f.
Ruth, 66 f., 158

Sabbath, 21, 37, 58, 86, 88 f., 101, 118
Sacrifice, 95, 159
Saints of the Most High, 143
Samaria, 35, 138 f.
Samuel, 134
Sarah, 41 f., 48, 112
Saul, 66, 104 f., 111 f., 122, 129, 134
Scripture, Nature of, 9–13
Second Coming, The, 163, 168
Second Isaiah, 37, 132, 155–158, 161
Semites, 20, 33
Sennacherib, 35
Serfs, 29
Servant of Yahweh, 40, 155–157
Shallum, 138
Sheba, 46, 123
Shechem, 43, 122, 128
Shem, 44
Shemaiah, 124
Shimei, 111
Simeon, 122, 128
Sinai, 20, 147
Slander, 113, 115 f
Slave, Slavery, 18 f., 21, 29, 41, 43, 45, 48, 54–64, 72, 75, 81, 88 f., 91, 101, 167 f., 170
Social conditions, 14 f., 17, 19, 22, 26, 30 f., 33
Socialism, socialists, 31–34
Sodom and Gomorrah, 152
Sojourner (*see* Stranger)
Solomon, 27, 44, 123 f.
Son of man, 143
Song of Songs, 49
Sorcery, 100
Southern Kingdom (*see* Judah)
State, The, 168
Stocks, 103
Stoning, 50, 94, 101, 103
Stranger, 71, 79–86, 89, 93
Succoth, Elders of, 104
Syria, Syrians, 28 f., 39, 60, 70, 123, 130, 139 f.

Tamar, 44, 52, 103
Tarshish, 159 f.
Taxation, 29
Temple, 38
Temple tax, 168
Temptation in the wilderness, 171
Theft, 74, 96, 116 f., 166
Tithe, 79 f.
Torture, 104, 136 f., 171
Trance, 138
Treachery, 112–115
Trees, 137
Tribute, 36, 75, 168
Tyre, 155
Tyrian Baal, 25, 137

Untruthfulness, 51, 111–116
Uriah, 113
Usury (*see* Interest)

Vicarious suffering, 157
Vindictiveness, 108–110

War, warfare, 18, 22, 27–29, 59 f., 70, 123 f., 127–143, 149 f.
Wealth, 27, 29 f., 33 f., 70, 74, 164 f.
Weapons, 127, 130, 142 f.
Weights and measures, 72, 118 f.

Wellhausen, 156
Westermarck, 62
Widow, 59, 71, 79–83, 86, 93, 96, 141
Wisdom literature, 72, 81, 98
Woman, 46–50, 107, 133 f., 141, 170

Yahweh, 21, 23–26, 36 f., 43, 57, 73, 80, 82–84, 95 f., 98, 106, 110, 114, 127–132, 135, 141 f., 145–148, etc.
Year of Jubilee, 57
Year of Release, 71

Zechariah, 38, 72, 81, 98, 114, 132
Zedekiah, 114, 131
Zephaniah, 152
Zerubbabel, 132
Ziklag, 113
Zimri, 137
Zion, 142 (*see* Jerusalem)
Zobah, 136

Made and Printed in Great Britain.
Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury.

BS670
.P35

Peake

Brotherhood in the Old Testament.

1004675

BS670
.P35

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
48 456 088